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TANJUG Reports on EU Talks on Bosnia

LD1605225094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2158 GMT 16 May 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Brussels, May 16 (TANJUG)—The European Union's Ministerial Council on Monday endorsed in full the plan for Bosnia put forth by Western and Russian foreign ministers at Geneva last week. The foreign ministers of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France and the European Union's "troika" (Belgium, Greece, Germany), meeting in Geneva on Friday, invited Bosnia's warring Moslems, Serbs and Croats to agree to a four-month ceasefire during which to negotiate a peace settlement on the basis of an E.U. territory-sharing plan which envisages for giving the Moslems and Croats 51 percent of the territory in which to form their federation, and the Serbs the remaining 49 percent.

The chairman of the Monday council session, Greek European Affairs Minister Theodoros Pangalos, confirmed at a press conference this evening that the E.U. foreign ministers had endorsed the recommended division of Bosnian territory.

He said that inasmuch as the Geneva plan was implemented, the easing would begin of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro (Yugoslavia). His use of the term easing rather than the usual suspension of the sanctions has not gone unnoticed. The sanctions were voted in place by the U.N. Security Council in May 1992 in retaliation for Yugoslavia's alleged involvement in civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Asked by TANJUG's correspondent what instruments were being envisaged for endorcing the plan, more specifically if all the Bosnian warring nations were expected to comply with the same requirements, Pangalos said that no accord could be reached without all the sides agreeing.

Asked further by the same correspondent if this meant that the same side should again be permitted to back out of this latest agreement at the last moment on a new pretext with impunity, as every time before, Pangalos answered by shrugging his shoulders. Bosnian Moslems have so far rejected several peace plans, opting instead for war.

The Greek minister said that the contact group for Bosnia had already taken steps to draft maps and bring the belligerents to the conference table.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, speaking at a separate press conference, said that the twelve ministers had clearly and unequivocally backed the Geneva plan. Asked by the GUARDIAN's correspondent John Palmer, who poses in Brussels as a lobbyist for the Moslem cause, if this meant rewarding the Serb "ethnic cleansing" in the way in which Hitler had been rewarded with Czechoslovakia, Douglas Hurd replied he could not understand the idea behind the question, explaining that the Geneva plan envisaged for Bosnia to remain within its existing borders, and for the Serbs to make the biggest territorial concessions.

Bosnian Serbs, who own 64 percent of the land in Bosnia according to the land books and currently control about 70 percent of the territory, have indicated in talks to date their willingness to make certain territorial concessions.

Berisha on Ties With Greece, Other Nations

NC1605183094 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic
14 May 94 p 5

[Interview with Albanian President Sali Berisha by Samih 'Abdallah in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] ['Abdallah] Mr. President, it was noticed that you reacted with anger following the recent border incident with Greece. However, things calmed down and the crisis seems to be heading toward a solution. What exactly happened on the borders with Greece and why did your reactions vary with the passage of time?

[Berisha] I do not think that we acted angrily. If you read our first message to the Greek Government in the wake of the massacre you would see that we expressed the conviction that the terrorists came from Greek territory and returned to it after executing the operation. In the same message we asked the Greek Government to identify the culprits and condemn the attack. Therefore, I don't think that this was evidence of anger.

But the Greek reaction was weird. They failed to express regret or convey condolences to the families of the victims. This made us believe they were gloating over the crime. It was, therefore, natural for us to believe that the Greek Government supports such deeds. We had information last year that a number of elements were trained in Greece and then Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis was informed of the matter.

['Abdallah] But did the Greek Government supervise the training?

[Berisha] Yes, the government did supervise the training at that time. But later we received information that the government had ended the training. At any rate, the culprits came from Greek territory. The Greek Government did not respond to our demands at the beginning, but later it responded.

Consequently, we decided to postpone any downsizing of the staffs at the embassies until the problem is discussed by the two countries' foreign ministers during their upcoming meeting. This is what happened, but the Greeks might have a different viewpoint of the incident.

['Abdallah] Are you sure that the culprits came from Greece?

[Berisha] Certainly. We identified their tracks, which showed that the culprits came from Greece and later returned there.

['Abdallah] But why are the Greeks trying to foment trouble on their border with Albania?

[Berisha] Since the beginning of the century and for the past 50 years, the Greeks have been pursuing a policy based on using terrorism and terrorists against southern Albania. But I don't believe that the Greek Government was behind this specific incident; otherwise we would have asked them to punish the culprits. However, we do not believe that the incident was an isolated one, because the Greek Army has in the past provoked us by firing at our boats sailing in our territorial waters.

['Abdallah] When did this happen?

[Berisha] Two months ago. But they denied it. I don't think this is the right way to create a good atmosphere to promote bilateral relations.

['Abdallah] But why are they doing this? What is their objective?

[Berisha] The Greeks are afflicted with nationalistic fervor. They have ties with the Serbs, and through this alliance they think that they can make gains toward reconstructing the Balkan area.

['Abdallah] Do they have any regional claims in Albania?

[Berisha] Greece has not yet signed the Florence protocol, which is quite important in the border issue.

['Abdallah] Does this mean that they do not recognize the present borders with Albania?

[Berisha] They recognize the borders, but they have not signed yet.

['Abdallah] What about the internal secessionist movements in southern Albania?

[Berisha] There are no such movements. But there are signs.

['Abdallah] Do you recognize the Greek minority in southern Albania?

[Berisha] There is a Greek minority in the south. I am pleased to say that Albania guarantees all rights, including human rights, to this minority.

['Abdallah] Are they entitled to learn the Greek language and do they have their own press?

[Berisha] They have three newspapers and well over 88 schools, which cover all stages of elementary and higher education. They have their own parties and establishments. They have ministers and judges. They will continue to enjoy these rights; these events will not affect our policies toward the minorities. They are Albanian citizens and we respect their rights.

['Abdallah] Mr. President, do you have a specific stand on the conflict between Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and Greece?

[Berisha] Yes. We have no particular stand regarding the name, but Macedonia has to accept a compromise regarding the issue of their flag and some other matters. In my opinion, Greece is taking a mistaken approach regarding the name and the economic boycott. However, a dialogue is necessary between the two countries.

['Abdallah] Do you have any problems with Macedonia regarding the Albanian minority residing there?

[Berisha] Yes. There is a human rights problem that must be resolved. There is some progress, however, and we expect further progress in the future.

['Abdallah] What are your specific demands?

[Berisha] There should be a census to determine the number of Albanians; schools should be opened at all levels. Albanians should have the right to use their language and they should be allowed to enter all the Macedonian state's institutions.

['Abdallah] Is this the same requirement as for Kosovo province?

[Berisha] The situation is different in Kosovo. The Albanians there constitute 95 percent of the population. One has to establish whole institutions for them; and agreement should be reached through dialogue and through agreements between the various parties on the special status of the region.

['Abdallah] Do you believe that the situation in the region is quiet now?

[Berisha] No, there is great oppression.

['Abdallah] What is your opinion on current events in Bosnia?

[Berisha] The situation there is very difficult and the peace process seriously fails to meet the requirements.

['Abdallah] What mistakes are the international community making in its efforts to resolve the conflict?

[Berisha] The international community must treat the Serbs and Milosevic more forcefully. The aggressors must be punished.

['Abdallah] How can they be punished? Militarily?

[Berisha] That is a naive question. Of course, militarily.

['Abdallah] Aren't the air strikes NATO is carrying out against the Serbian positions enough?

[Berisha] These air strikes are merely symbolic. They should take place on a much larger scale.

['Abdallah] What would be the objective of such large-scale strikes?

[Berisha] The objective is to prove that Bosnia must continue to exist as a state, either within a federal or a confederal framework. Bosnia must remain united.

['Abdallah] Do you not see the agreement between the Muslims and the Croats that was signed recently in Washington as an introduction of partitioning?

[Berisha] No, I see the result as an agreement between two sides; and the third side, the Bosnian Serbs, must respond.

['Abdallah] But Mr. President, the agreement speaks of a confederation with Croatia.

[Berisha] This will take place at a later stage. The international community must not accept the status quo imposed by the Serbian occupation. That would be the first step toward many problems in the Balkan. There would be a series of wars in the Balkans and many countries would take part in them. The only way to avoid all of this is to punish the aggressor.

['Abdallah] Mr. President, there is a famous principle in the OAU Charter that stipulates that countries should adhere to the borders defined by colonialism on the continent, despite the numerous problems these borders create. Do you not believe that the Balkan countries, with all the problems they have among themselves, should agree on something similar to this?

[Berisha] It is vital that borders in the Balkans should not be changed by force.

['Abdallah] Why can't the borders stay as they are and each state keep the minorities it has within its borders?

[Berisha] Yes, that is what is required.

['Abdallah] But this will mean that Kosovo will stay with the Serbs, Albania will keep the Greek minority, just as Bulgaria will keep the Turkish minority, and so on.

[Berisha] (Interrupting) No, you are comparing two different situations. How can you compare a situation where you have 40,000-60,000 Greeks in southern Albania and 2 million Albanians in Kosovo?

['Abdallah] Why is Fatos Nano, the leader of the Albanian opposition, in prison now? Are the reasons political, or does it have to do with financial improprieties, as has been announced?

[Berisha] Why do you not ask the same question of the Italian authorities to find out why de Michelis and some other Italian politicians are being tried? The reasons are the same. They, together with Fatos Nano, committed crimes of corruption pertaining to the aid given by Italy to Albania (when Nano was prime minister of Albania). There was embezzlement in an amount of $9 million. Had the reasons been political, there would have been others the government could have taken to court.

['Abdallah] How far has your reform program gone after two years in power?

[Berisha] I believe that in those two years we have made great progress in this regard. Inflation has dropped from 400 percent to 30 percent. Last year we had the highest rate of development in the whole of Europe—11 percent, according to the IMF evaluations. Our currency is stable. In addition, we have freed all our prices. This puts us at a difficult stage, but this is the only thing we can do to encourage production. We have also privatized all agricultural land, homes, services, and transport.

['Abdallah] What about foreign aid?

[Berisha] We are grateful to all those who have helped us. This aid has been used as best as possible. Now, we do not need urgent aid; we need economic cooperation.

['Abdallah] Do you cooperate with any Arab or Islamic countries?

[Berisha] We cooperate with Egypt, Kuwait, Turkey, Malaysia, and Saudi Arabia. Cooperation with these and other countries is constantly increasing.

['Abdallah] What about your work agenda for Albania in the coming stage?

[Berisha] Increasing cooperation with the countries in the region and merging the state with the European institutions are our two major goals for the next stage. In addition, we are trying to prevent conflicts in the region and to liberate and strengthen the economy.

['Abdallah] What do you expect from the meeting between the Greek and Albanian foreign ministers? Do you have some sort of prescription to prevent a repetition of such border incidents?

[Berisha] The Greeks have to stop those activities that negatively affect bilateral relations. That is the first thing. Albania has tried to be friends with Greece, but the Greeks were not happy with our friendship.

We will continue our attempts to have good neighborly relations, especially since there are many factors that encourage such relations. I believe they also want that, not only for the sake of our two countries, but for the sake of the whole region.

Berisha: Zhelev Prevented Division of FYROM

AU1305165694 Skopje MIC in English 13 May 94

[Unattributed report: "Berisha: Bulgaria Prevented Attempts for Division of Macedonia"]

[Text] "Bulgaria refused to take part in the secret meeting with Greece and Serbia in 1991, thereby sparing Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] from what could have become another conflict on the Balkans," the Albanian President Sali Berisha announced yesterday at the airport in Vienna. Berisha discussed this question with the Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev during his stay in Sofia last month, when he thanked Zhelev for turning down the invitation to take part in the meeting.

"President Zhelev's standpoint against this meeting is very important. If Zhelev had accepted at the time the events would have taken a completely different course," Berisha said.

Asked by the reporters at the Vienna airport whether the meeting could have led to the eruption of a new conflict on the Balkans, Berisha said: "Macedonia would have absolutely faced enormous difficulties."

Berisha also stated that the former Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis had invited Zhelev and the Serbian President Milosevic to attend a secret meeting in Athens in order to discuss Macedonia [passage indistinct] where numerous ethnic Albanian population resides. The meeting was supposed to begin around the time of the dissolution of the Yugoslav Federation and the first signs of a war between Croatia and the rebel Serbs.

Further on, Berisha stated that the creation of a Greek-Serbian-Bulgarian axis was planned at the meeting, which would review Macedonia's fate and could have brought about the division of the Republic among the three Balkan neighbors.

"Milosevic accepted to take part in the meeting, but Zhelev refused to participate in this trilateral meeting."

"Zhelev said," Berisha added, "no, I will not come without Macedonia being present," Berisha said in Vienna.

Serbian Reaction to Hogg's Kosovo Visit Noted

AU1605134894 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 13 May 94 p 4

[Article by Xh. Rexhepi: "Why Lambast Hogg?"]

[Text] As we know, Douglas Hogg, secretary of state and the British Foreign Office's number two, paid an official visit to Kosova last week. As the public has been informed at length, he talked here with both the Albanian and Serbian sides about solving the problem of Kosova. Regardless of how this visit was reported and judged, diplomatic circles appreciated it as an important effort by British diplomacy toward solving the serious crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, testing the pulse for possible Albanian-Serbian dialogue for the solution to the question of Kosova, to which international bodies are increasingly committed.

However, in spite of this and regardless of the exceptionally serious and complicated nature of the subject under discussion, Serbian propaganda has not even spared this British diplomat abuse and distortion of his statements, for the sake of Serbian policy toward Kosova and the Albanians. This does not surprise anybody, because this is standard practice in the controlled Serbian media. Anti-Albanianism and hatred of Albanian culture and history have become a proof of "professional" standards in the hysterical anti-Albanian competition.

As always, the Serbian rulers installed in Kosova have not lagged behind. Simovic, the "local sheriff" [nacallniku i okrugut], warned two days ago that he would call a halt to the activities of what he called "Rugova's party," meaning the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK]. According to him, the reason for this lies in the fact that this party is not registered in Serbia (!). In order to back up this threat that has long been trumpeted by assorted sections of the Serbian establishment, he even misused the high-level British diplomat Douglas Hogg,

ascribing to him amazement over "why the LDK is not registered in Serbia and how it can operate without this."

How far this canard will run Simovic alone knows. However, regarding the aim of such a threat, the Albanian and international public know very well and have heard many times that it is the Serbian police and judicial system that are doing most to obstruct the work of the LDK, the largest and most influential party in Kosova, and have done since its foundation. The fact that not a day goes by without maltreatment of this party's activists, many of whom are being held in prison, are detained for what are called informative discussions, and are obstructed in their legal political work shows that the LDK is a thorn in the flesh of Great-Serbian circles in Kosova and Serbia. It is for this reason that both the ruling Socialists and the ultranationalists of the Arkan and Seselj kind hold forth against it with the same enthusiasm. Both sides accumulate points among their own electorates with their stands against Kosova and the Albanians and threats toward the LDK, the president of the Republic of Kosova, and the republic's other legitimate representatives.

Viewed from this angle, Simovic's statement contains nothing new and would not deserve comment. However, that fact that it was made after the discussions that Hogg held in Kosova once again exposes the reality that the Serbian establishment does not wish to involve the real political forces and the legitimate authorities of the Albanian people in Kosova, led by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic, in the inevitable Albanian-Serbian talks. For this reason, it is these forces that are most attacked and threatened both by ruling Serbian circles and those who support and assist these circles in the anti-Albanian hysteria.

However, despite such a savage campaign against the legitimate representatives of the Albanians in Kosova, Serbian circles have been informed umpteen times, not only by the LDK and the president of Kosova, but by other Albanian political parties in Kosova, that only Kosova's legitimate representatives can decide Kosova's destiny. As we know, this legitimacy was achieved by the will of the people in the first multiparty elections in Kosova two years ago. Thus, beyond this legitimacy and the political will of the people expressed in the referendum of September 1991, nobody has a mandate to decide on Kosova, as Kosova's political parties and legitimate representatives have said many times. However, it seems that from now on this must be said more often and with more insistence.

Border Guards Arrested for Smuggling Oil

AU1605181894 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 13 May 94 p 1

[Report by Edmond Laci: "Oil Toward the War Zone"]

[Text] Shkoder—The embargo against Yugoslavia is still being broken from Albanian territory. Even though the Albanian authorities have recently greatly intensified their response, fuel still makes its way toward the most bloody war zone in Europe. However, in the most recent incidents involving this illegal traffic, not only smugglers and various oil distribution firms but employees and even officers of the Shkoder Border Police have been proved to have been involved. In the meantime, firms suspected of being directly involved in shipping fuel to Montenegro are the focus of investigations by the general Directorate of the Albanian Financial Police. In recent days, the financial authorities have requested the suspension of the contract of the Italian-Albanian AIP firm, because, they claim, "80-90 percent of its fuel heads for Shkoder."

Immediately after the discovery of six tanker trucks returning empty from the Yugoslav border, Fejzi Tahiri, officer at the Murgian border post, was detained on suspicion of having allowed these vehicles to cross illegally into Montenegro. The drivers of the six oil-smuggling tankers were also sent to prison. Official sources in Shkoder state that the detained persons come from the towns of Elbasan, Vlore, and Patos. A few days ago, when two other tanker trucks were observed to cross, five soldiers and one officer of the border police post at Pulaj were detained, all accused of "allowing vehicles involved in oil smuggling to cross in collaboration with Albanian citizens." Meanwhile, according to investigations by the general Directorate of the Financial Police, it is suspected that the six tankers sequestrated after returning from Yugoslav territory were loaded in Durres by the Italian-Albanian firm AIP. Following evidence from other incidents, the General Directorate of the financial Police has asked for the joint contract to be suspended, arguing that "a good part of AIP's activity, in other words about 80-90 percent of its oil, is directed toward Shkoder, with an ultimate destination beyond the Albanian state border."

Kukes Hunger Strikers Win Compensation

AU1605170594 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 14 May 94 p 1

[Report by P.Re.: "Hunger Strike Ends"]

[Text] Tirana—The hunger strike in Kukes, an event whose drama shocked the entire country at the end of last week, has ended. After a meeting with a delegation of the strikers lasting many hours, the government has promised to meet most of the demands so strongly put forward by many inhabitants of the villages of Kukes.

Finally, after many days of bargaining, the government's representatives and the strikers whose land had been inundated succeeded in finding a common language. This was confirmed to journalists on 12 May by the chairman of the strikers' delegation, chosen unanimously the day before at the joint meeting of the strikers holed up in the local government building and the Lake of Fierze Association of the Flooded Out. "We are now sort of satisfied," the strike chairman said as he emerged from his meeting with Prime Minister Meksi, "because

our main demands were met." He also expressed confidence that the government's latest promises would also lead others to give up their hunger strike.

The government has agreed to quickly implement various measures designed to ease the burden of poverty under which these areas labor. The peasants of Kukes have first been promised compensation with land or in cash for their land inundated by the Lake of Fierze. These people will also benefit from long-term loans for house-building and preferential loans for the development of private agriculture. For those inhabitants who even after these measures will still find it difficult to live on their small areas of infertile land, the government has undertaken to organize emigration to more prosperous areas of the country where there is still free state land. Specialists will review once again social welfare for the inhabitants of Kukes. One of the measures promised by the government has been an increase in the level of social support for these people. Kukes will also be given preference in the distribution of humanitarian aid and other forms of assistance.

The government's representatives failed to agree to only two of the demands included in the strike program: co-ownership of the Fierze hydroelectric station and the payment of rent for the inundated land.

DPS Decides To Support Berov Cabinet

AU1605193494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] The attitude of the DPS [Movement for Rights and Freedoms] toward the Berov government has become clear from a report that we have just received from BTA. After touring the Kurdzhali region for four days, Ahmed Dogan declared that the DPS central leadership and its electorate share a common view concerning the cabinet's fate. The DPS supports a left-of-center model for the economy, if the social cost of the transition is determined. It will be difficult for the cabinet to fall, he said, and if any of the other parliamentary groups receive a mandate to form a cabinet, none of them will be able to form either a one-party or coalition government. Dogan said that the alternative of a caretaker cabinet is dangerous; according to him, such a cabinet could only operate for 2 to 6 months and would supplant the parliamentary form of government, delay the agreement on the foreign debt, and lead to hyperinflation.

Former Chief Mufti Criticizes DPS Leaders

AU1605200394 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 10 May 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Nedim Gendzhev, former chief mufti of Bulgaria, by Diana Petrova; place and date not given: "Dogan Works Against Bulgarian State, Lyutfi Is Indebted to Moon"]

[Text] [Petrova] Dr. Gendzhev, the Bulgarian Turks invested much hopes in the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], which promised to protect their interests. Now the DPS is in the parliament, there is a cabinet formed with the DPS mandate, but its constituency is the poorest in the country. What are the reasons for the DPS' failure?

[Gendzhev] I am well-informed and I know that the DPS was formed by the former Bulgarian Communist Party and State Security. The establishment of the DPS pursued two goals: The first was to prevent the Muslims from voting for the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. If they would have voted for the SDS, it would have won the first elections.

The second goal was to prevent the restoral of the rights of the Turks and Muslims in Bulgaria. They succeeded also in this sphere. What rights that existed before 1984 were restored? Before 1984 there were three Turkish theaters in Bulgaria. Now there are none. The Bulgarian radio had three two-hour programs in Turkish; now there are only 15-minute programs. The DPS promised a two-hour television program. Instead the wives of Yunal Lyutfi, Vedal Sakalu, and others paraded around in Turkey for six months.

Up to 1959 there were 1,390 Turkish schools. Now we do not even have the right to four hours of compulsory Turkish language studies, and I do not mean special schools.

They also lied to the people about the tobacco issue. They tamed the strike and pocketed the commissions from Bulgartabak. Let Dogan tell me now who will vote for him in Krumovgrad or Kurdzhali region. I will curse them if they cast a single vote for Dogan.

They did not accomplish even five things in five years. In my village, Glodzhevo, 600 people get their bread on credit—the owner of the bakery shop writes their names in his ledger. Unemployment among Bulgarian Muslims is 80 percent. The Law on the Land does not help us at all. People from Kurdzhali live in the village of Listets, Silistra region. They moved there after the local Turks emigrated to Turkey. In August 1944 the land was purchased by five or six wealthy landlords, and in September a collective labor farm was formed. The owners never saw their land. However, instead of returning the land now to those who worked it all those years, they return it to the same landlords. The people do not even have money to lease the land. A businessman from Petrich cultivates it. This is the merit of the DPS.

The people understood that Dogan does not serve the Bulgarian state. He serves foreign interests. I know very well that he was recruited in Paris.

[Petrova] In the chief mufti affair the DPS opposed you. Was the only reason your personal feud with Dogan?

[Gendzhev] Destroying the structure of the Muslim religion in Bulgaria was another goal the DPS successfully achieved. The DPS also participated actively in destroying the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church. Yunal Lyutfi visited the United States as Moon's personal guest! It became clear who was interested in destroying the two religions. The Eastern Orthodox Church will never again be united in Bulgaria. Even if Patriarchs Maksim and Pimen retire to monasteries, Galaktion and Neofit will not work together, while the priests and the people already are divided. There will never again be a united church. I will take Metodi Spasov [former director of the Department of Religions] to court and claim compensation for the moral and material damage that was inflicted on me. I will demand 500,000 leva as compensation for the damage done by dismissing me. The Supreme Court already stated that I was illegally dismissed from the chief mufti post, and now I will demand to restore me to this post.

[Petrova] Now Mehmed Hodzha wants to form a new DPS. Do you think he has a chance?

[Gendzhev] No! At present he has absolutely no chance at all. To form a new DPS within the SDS is childish. The people get smarter. Why is it that no political party is interested in new elections? I am sure that this parliament will function until October 1995, when the regular parliamentary elections will take place. Let those who deceived the people worry! Mehmed Hodzha could organize a small group of supporters, if the SDS contributes a penny or two, so that he could organize branches. However, this is not what the people want. They want to know, for example, how did Mehmed Hodzha manage to acquire a tailor shop in the village of Kaspichan and employ 40 women there. The people want to know who did what. This also applies to all other parties. Now it appears that the

Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the SDS each have the support of 20 percent of the voters. Well, those are the BSP pensioners and those who benefited from the restitution initiated by the SDS. And what about the other 60 percent? They have not decided yet. For my part, I do not see a real force that could attract those voters. Look, the Social Democratic Party shrunk. [Party leader Petur] Dertliev got involved in various polemics and personal quarrels, and weakened his party. Aleksandur Tomov from the Civic Alliance for the Republic also is a losing card. The same applies to Ludzhev's New Policy Center. Those are formations without supporters.

[Petrova] Did you register your party, and will you participate in the future elections?

[Gendzhev] Yes, the Democratic Party of Justice registered. Of course we will participate in the elections. We already are preparing—we seek cadres and ascertain our possibilities. We are also preparing our program and are not making too much noise. It is too soon for this. We will probably participate in a coalition with other parties. For the time being I see only the Aleksandur Stamboliyski Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] as a possible partner. This is the real BZNS which has structures. All the rest are hot air. I also rely very much on the intelligentsia, which now shuns politics. This is a potential force without leadership claims. It is a high time for an intelligent party to emerge. Such a party will not serve nationalism, but will protect Bulgaria's national interests instead.

[Petrova] It is well-known that you established a foundation which supports the religious life of Muslims in Bulgaria. How many mosques are under construction at present in Bulgaria?

[Gendzhev] I contributed $15,000 to the construction of the mosque in Madan. We contributed to rebuilding the burned-down mosque in Khaskovo, and to building mosques in Rudozem and Chepintsi. We are also building mosques in the Deliorman region—I mean in the villages of Listets and Vulkan, and there are other construction projects.

I think that the most important factor is that even after the difficult period of 1985-86 we succeeded to preserve the respect between Muslims and Christians, as well as good-neighborly relations between Bulgarians and Turks. The attempts of certain persons to set the people against each other represent a crime. It is not serious to talk about some Islamic arcs and Panslavonic axes that cross Bulgaria. After all, the Bosnia Muslims also are Slavs! Our state must protect the tranquility in the country and prevent all attempts of inciting ethnic and religious feuds!

Iraq's Hammadi Views Relations, Cooperation

AU1605154294 Sofia NOVINI 5 in Bulgarian 12 May 94 p 5

[Interview with Iraqi Minister of Agriculture Bashir 'Alwan Hammadi by Desislava Lilova; place and date not given: "Return to Iraqi Market Today, Tomorrow It Will Be Too Late"]

[Excerpts] [Lilova] Are you disturbed by the fact that the last official contacts between Bulgarian and Iraqi delegations were four years ago?

[Hammadi] Please allow me first to greet the friendly Bulgarian people, with whom we worked together for many years for the prosperity of our countries. Unfortunately, after the Gulf War the Bulgarian companies left Iraq and abandoned the construction sites they began. Now that those events are behind us we would like your companies to return and complete the construction projects. As you know, Iraq is exceptionally rich in resources. Our ambitions regarding the future are great and therefore the opportunities for our friends are substantial.

[Lilova] Does it mean that the Bulgarian construction projects have not been taken on by someone else?

[Hammadi] Yes, most of them stand as you left them. Only a few of them are being completed by Iraqi companies.

[Lilova] Could you say honestly until when Iraq will wait for Bulgaria to return to its construction projects?

[Hammadi] Frankly, we would like the Bulgarian companies to return today, before the embargo is lifted, because afterward everything will be easier and there will be pressure on the part of many candidates. The politicians know that an embargo is a temporary measures, while friends know that help counts when it is rendered at difficult times.

[Lilova] Iraq was one of the greatest markets for such important goods as weapons, meat, and medicines, which contributed much to our budget. Will you discuss with the Bulgarian side the manner of returning to your market?

[Hammadi] We still need your goods, especially the civilian ones. We will pose this issue and I hope that together we will find a mechanism that will allow you to export to Iraq. [passage omitted]

[Lilova] For four years, Bulgaria did not raise the issue of the $2 billion that you owe us. Will you discuss this issue now?

[Hammadi] We never denied the fact that we owe you, and when an Iraqi says something, it means that he will act accordingly. Iraq will not deny its obligations and will pay them back with oil. Bulgaria can be calm, its rights will be protected. It only is because of the circumstances that our debts to you were not eliminated by 1994. Indeed, you must know that for us this is not a great amount.

[Lilova] Do you not think that it is strange that the debtor is more interested in the deal than the creditor?

[Hammadi] We see the Bulgarians as friends. Those who love must also understand, help, and respect.

'No Threat' Following Zhirinovkiy's Comments

AU1605135894 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 10 May 94 p 2

[Article by "kos": "Response Is Not Necessary; There Is No Imminent Danger From Russia"]

[Text] Prague—The Interior Ministry closely follows developments in Russia, but the present signs do not warrant any hasty response. Interior Ministry spokesman Subrt said this yesterday. It was his reply to the question of whether the Interior Ministry is preparing some measures after the comments by Vladimir Zhirinovkiy about an "entirely new regime" in Russia before the fall. According to Subrt, our side must wait for the official comments and conduct of the legitimate Russian Government. "We are all aware of Mr. Zhirinovkiy making very strong statements now and then," Subrt said and added that "at the moment, there is no threat."

Klaus Explains 'Joke' on Hungarian Elections

AU1605172094 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 May 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova; place and date not given: "Prime Minister V. Klaus Answers LN"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Martinkova] In the context of the Hungarian elections, you declared the Czech Republic a little island in the sea of peculiar returns. How do you explain, however, that the Hungarian Socialists are promoting an economic policy similar to that of the Czech Government? Is there a difference between the left wing and the right wing in the declared stands or in specific economic measures?

[Klaus] I made a very balanced statement on the Hungarian elections. The cheap little joke was at the very end of this and, taken out of context, it acquired an inappropriate setting. I am far from assessing the outcome of the elections in Poland or Hungary in a simplified manner. The idea that it is a return of the communists is a jest that did not come to my mind. Their ideology is markedly different from the former communist ideology. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that they are parties from the left of the political spectrum. I have never had any serious doubts that these parties could implement a more or less balanced and reasonable economic policy.

On the other hand, I must say that, when I had the opportunity to meet with Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialists, at a panel discussion at the World Economic Forum last year, our visions of the world were infinitely different. His arguments reminded me of debates on the economic reform scenario with the adversaries of our economic strategy in 1990-91. In this sense, it would be wrong to conceal the differences. The main thing is, however, that Hungary is and has been in all aspects a very close partner of ours. I am convinced that we will be able to cooperate with the new Hungarian Government just as effectively as we did with the previous governments, and I even believe that a certain sharp ethnic minority tone that was very strong in the previous Hungarian Government and that I have always feared a bit may, in this case, retreat into the background. [passage omitted]

Baudys Notes Russian 'Volcano,' Instability

LD1605122894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpt] An international seminar on security issues in Central and East Europe began in Prague today. Miroslav Konvalina has been following its proceedings in the Atrium Hotel:

[Konvalina] The opening speeches and early discussions indicate that deputies from East and West European countries, politicians, journalists, and other participants in the seminar are eager to get to know not only our positions on NATO and other European institutions, but also the changing policy of Russia, its self-confident actions on foreign and security issues and, in this context, ways of facing a possible change of Russian policy.

In the opening address at the seminar, Defense Minister Antonin Baudys analyzed security risks in present-day Europe. He said Russia is a volcano, whose lava of instability could spill far beyond the borders.

Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Bratinka noted that Russia has also received an offer to join the Partnership for Peace program and that, in the West, there is no country aspiring to threaten Russia. That is why our efforts aimed at gaining NATO membership are not motivated primarily by our fear of Russia, but by our endeavor to embody the values we have in common with West Europe in joint institutions. [passage omitted]

KDS Official on Justice Ministry 'Shortcomings'

AU1605133394 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 10 May 94 p 2

[Article by "jaf": "So Far, the Christian Democratic Party Does Not Intend To Criticize the Department of Justice"]

[Text] Prague—So far, the Christian Democratic Party [KDS] does not intend to specify its exceptions to the operation of the Department of Justice. According to KDS Deputy Chairman Vaclav Benda, it will do so after "all coalition mechanisms are exhausted," in the form of publishing a series of articles in the press.

The KDS deputy chairman also told DENNI TELEGRAF that the party leadership is interested "neither in the ministerial post nor in Minister Novak's head but, rather, in the correction of the situation in the department." According to the KDS, the remaining "coalition mechanisms" are discussions of its objections to the operation of the Ministry of Justice at the level of the

coalition four. Another alternative is a meeting with Minister Novak on the ground of his deputies' club in the parliament. Benda considers the discussion in front of television cameras proposed by [Justice] Minister Novak another form of presentation of the aforementioned objections. "If none of these approaches leads to the correction, there is nothing left for the KDS and myself but to publicly point out the specific shortcomings that affect the interests of the general public," Benda said. To the question of whether the KDS has any hard evidence, he replied in the affirmative.

'Drastic Drop' in Trade Union Membership

LD1605153194 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Over the past four years, there has been a drastic drop in trade union membership in the Czech Republic. Of the initial 92 percent, membership has dropped to the present 36 percent. Only 22 percent of the work force employed in private companies are trade union members, said Jaroslav Strait, chairman of the Trade Unions Association of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. He said that the current trend in the development of the trade union movement is worrying. What is disappearing is not only trade unions but also ordinary human solidarity, Strait said, adding that the pressure the state exerts on the social and economic rights of the people has strongly intensified and that ever tougher standards are asked for.

Strait said that all of this is happening with the help of the Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions. He branded this organization as a government-run trade union.

Annual Inflation Falls to 9.2 Percent in Apr

AU1605200294 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 May 94 p 3

[Article by "rum": "The Annual Level of Inflation Continues To Decline"]

[Text] Overall consumer prices, expressing the inflationary development, rose by 0.4 percent in April in comparison with the preceding month. Czech Statistical Office Spokesman J. Lehnerova announced this yesterday.

Prices of services, food, and nonfood products each increased by the same 0.4 percent. Public catering prices recorded the greatest increase in April—0.6 percent. Among food products, chocolate and sweets showed the largest increase—2.8 to 5.5 percent. On the other hand, the price of eggs fell by 5.3 percent. Among the services, cinema and theater seats and municipal transport fares rose by more than 2 percent.

Total inflation over the four months of this year reached 2.8 percent and thus corresponds to government expectations and the Czech National Bank's estimates. The annual level of inflation is declining as the year progresses. It was 9.2 percent in April, down 0.2 percent from March.

Moravcik Views Stability Pact as 'Springboard'

BR1605131394 Paris LE MONDE in French 15-16 May 94 p 4

[Report on interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by Yves-Michel Riols and Martin Plichta in Bratislava; date not given: "Slovak Prime Minister Thinks 'Balladur Plan Should Not Be Limited to Minorities Questions'"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—Jozef Moravcik, Bratislava government chief, is expected in Paris 16-17 May for his first visit to a European Union [EU] country since his investiture in March. In an interview with LE MONDE, he supports the idea of a Pact of Stability for Europe proposed by [French Prime Minister] Balladur but hopes that it will also become a springboard for the expansion of the EU to the former Socialist countries. [passage omitted]

Not enjoying the prestige of its Czech neighbor, easily identified with its charismatic President Vaclav Havel, Slovakia nonetheless demonstrated a reassuring responsibility during the political crisis at the beginning of the year that brought down Vladimir Meciar. Just two days after his departure, a broad coalition ranging from Catholic conservatives to former communists was formed under the leadership of Mr. Moravcik to lead the country to the parliamentary elections, which have been brought forward to September. "We have succeeded in calming the political debate," he said, "and we hope that the extremist factions will be gradually marginalized."

Man of Compromise

One of the main issues in this easing of tension desired by Bratislava relates to the normalization of relations with neighboring Hungary. Since the fall of the communist regimes in these two countries, relations have deteriorated, especially through the controversy over the large Hungarian minority in Slovakia (600,000 people, 11 percent of the population). This controversy is at the heart of the concerns of the Stability Pact proposed by Mr. Balladur. And, in the run-up to the conference on this project in Paris on 26 and 27 May, Mr. Moravcik will come to explain to the French officials that he does not have either the Hungarians' sustained interest nor the Czechs' strong reservations toward this diplomatic initiative.

Faithful to his image as a man of compromise, the Slovak prime minister welcomes an initiative that "could provide a framework for the problem of minorities. And the solutions proposed could then be included in bilateral treaties." But this project, drawn up in the wake of the trauma created by the Yugoslav war, could not, in Jozef Moravcik's view, "be limited to just the question of minorities." He stressed that "the stability of the postcommunist countries also depends on their economic development and the future integration into the EU." In saying this, he was echoing a criticism that is increasingly heard among the Central European countries, which are irritated by the uncertainties surrounding the process of integration into the EU and by the Twelve's protectionism. This bitterness is particularly strong because East-West trade has been very imbalanced in favor of the EU since the end of communism.

Mr. Moravcik is therefore suggesting that the Stability Pact should go further than its initial framework and become "a positive contribution to the definition of a timetable and criteria making it possible for our countries to prepare for their integration into Europe." In other words, he is stressing that the states of Central Europe are perfectly aware that their rapprochement with the EU depends on a settlement of their historical disputes but that, by limiting itself to this one objective, the Balladur plan loses much of its justification. This is an argument that is also put forward by the Poles, who think they are no longer concerned by the Stability Pact because they have already concluded treaties of friendship with their neighbors, especially the Ukrainians and the Lithuanians.

With regard to the Hungarian-Slovak dispute, Mr. Moravcik hinted that Bratislava and Budapest can solve this problem themselves without the arbitration of a multilateral body. As a sign of this new desire for compromise, the Slovak Parliament adopted one of the Council of Europe's two recommendations relating to the use of Hungarian names in Slovakia at the end of April. And, on Tuesday, 10 May, Moravcik's government gave the go-ahead to the other recommendation on bilingual signs in the communes in which large numbers of Hungarians live.

In addition, the Socialists and the Liberals, who were in the lead after the first round of parliamentary elections in Hungary, have several times expressed their desire to reach a "historic reconciliation" with the neighboring countries. "The improvement in our relations with Hungary is one of our priorities," the head of the Slovak Government stressed. "We want to conclude a bilateral treaty as quickly as possible."

The atmosphere is now clearly more favorable to easing tension. But the main obstacle still has to be overcome: recognition of the inviolability of borders. This is a clause that Hungary has so far always refused to include in a treaty with Slovakia and Romania, arguing that such a pledge had already been given in the framework of the 1947 Paris Treaty and the 1975 Helsinki Agreements. Before envisaging such a declaration on borders, Budapest wants to secure guarantees on the rights of the Hungarian minorities in these two countries. Even though the rapid conclusion of this dispute seems difficult, there is nonetheless a concern to create a new climate of confidence.

Jozef Moravcik therefore wants to initiate an "impetus for peace" that is sufficiently strong to withstand electoral changes. Indeed, there is nothing to say that his

government will still be at the helm after the September parliamentary elections. The opinion polls are still giving the lead to Vladimir Meciar.

U.S. Report on Media Restrictions Contested

AU1605131094 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 May 94 p 13

[TA SR report: "Hardly Objective"]

[Text] Washington—Branislav Lichardus, ambassador of the Slovak Republic to the United States, reacted to a report on media freedom issued by the Freedom House organization, in which Slovakia is included among "partially free countries." In a letter to the director of the Freedom Forum foundation, which sponsored the drafting of the report, he wrote: "I read the report on the freedom of media in Slovakia and have serious doubts about its objectivity. I was unpleasantly surprised that Slovakia is rated as a 'partially free country," while the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland are included among countries with 'free media.' I do not know the circumstances that made you come up with such an assessment, but I want to assure you that, according to the principles of the Charter of the Free Press, Slovakia meets all of the conditions of an open society with a free press and should be included among countries with such a rating."

Journalists, SNS Against Recall of TV Council

AU1605200594 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 7 May 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Against Attacks on the Independence of the Mass Media"]

[Text] The Association of Slovak Journalists [ZSN], which represents 700 members, is alarmed at the current situation, in which the democracy and plurality of the mass media in Slovakia are endangered. Despite the constitutional guarantees of the freedom of the press and speech and the law on the independence and impartiality of Slovak Television [STV], the decision adopted by the coalition deputies to recall the STV Council is a gross violation of these legal guarantees. The ZSN points out to our and the world public that the current parliamentary and government practice of implementing the party principle is threatening the independence of the mass media. The coalition political parties, which have a majority in parliament, are, by their conduct, ignoring the Charter on Human Rights and Freedoms and the Council of Europe resolutions concerning the mass media, especially Resolution No. 428/1970 on the mass media and human rights, which emphasizes the media's independence of political supervision, and Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1147/1993 concerning the responsibility of parliaments for the democratic reform of radio and television broadcasting in the countries of Central Europe. We are alarmed by the silence of the democratic press in Western countries over the totalization of political life in Slovakia, the practices of political purges, and the regression to communist normalization by the former entities of the communist party that are today operating within groupings throughout the political spectrum of the coalition. The ZSN appeals to the entire Slovak journalistic community and to professional journalistic organizations at home and abroad for professional solidarity in defending professional and civil rights.

From the Point of View of the Slovak National Party: Who Will Be Next?

The Slovak National Party [SNS] states that the recall of a substantial part of the Slovak Television Council was carried out on the basis of unconfirmed speculation and unverified documents. It is more than certain that the main reason for the recall is the feeling of a lack of control over STV on the part of the provisional government coalition because the council had been nominated by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and the SNS, although none of its members were members of any party or movement. This was not a matter-of-fact issue, but a purely political decision. This is also borne out by the fact that the coalition's representative, when presenting the proposal for the recall, used an argument that turned out to be erroneous in relation to the materials the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR] deputies had at their disposal—that is, on the issue of the STV Council's Statute. The ruling coalition did not make even the slightest attempt to find a real reason for recalling the STV Council; the vote was held immediately. The SNS feels that what happened in the NR SR during the recall of the STV Council can only be described as a display of arrogance by the current ruling authority and the ruling coalition grouping in parliament. It is necessary to ask once again what or who will be next.

Government Approves Amendments to Election Law

AU1605181694 Bratislava SME in Slovak 11 May 94 p 2

[Article by "so": "Government Approved Bill on Bilingual Signs"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—[passage omitted] At its meeting yesterday, the government agreed with the proposal submitted by a group of deputies to amend the law on elections to the Slovak National Council. The draft amendment does not change the basic principles of the existing legislation governing elections to the National Council of the Slovak Republic—the electoral system and the size and number of constituencies remain unchanged. The proposed amendment mainly clarifies provisions pertaining to the organization of elections. According to the draft, voters will receive the ballots at the polling stations—that is, the ballots will not be delivered to their homes. A citizen of the Slovak

Republic who is not a permanent resident of the Slovak Republic will be entered in the voters' register on entering the polling station by the district electoral commission, and the commission will record this entry in the voter's travel document. When casting the ballot, the voter must have his citizenship recorded in his identity papers. [passage omitted]

HZDS Tops Poll on Current Voting Intentions

LD1605201594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 16 May 94

[Summary] According to an opinion poll carried out by Slovak Radio in May to find out current voting intentions, and based on the answers from 1,065 respondents, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] polled 21.1 percent, the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] polled 8.7 percent, and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] polled 7.9 percent of votes. The other parties failed to reach 5 percent of votes and would not therefore be represented in parliament.

The respondents also answered the question about how would they vote if parties and movements were grouped in coalitions. The coalition of national oriented parties—the HZDS, the Slovak National Party, and the Christian Social Union—would win 1999 percent of votes. The coalition of left-wing parties—the SDL, the Social Democratic Party, the Green Party, and the Farmers' Movement—would win 15.1 percent of votes. And the coalition of right-wing and liberal parties—the KDH, the Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party, the Democratic Union, and the Party of Entrepreneurs and Small Businessmen—would win 13 percent of votes. The coalition of Hungarian parties received the support of 7.5 percent of respondents.

Huska: Better Ties to Hungary Merely 'Illusion'

AU1605180194 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 11 May 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Augustin Marian Huska, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and deputy chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, by Drahoslav Machala; place and date not given: "Europe Is Favorably Disposed Toward Slovakia, but Ill-Wishers Are Also To Be Found"]

[Excerpt] [Machala] You have just returned from talks in the European Parliament in Strasbourg. The talks had a formal but also an informal part. Did you learn anything of interest for Slovakia?

[Huska] We have obtained information that is impossible to obtain under normal circumstances. Unfortunately, we must self-critically acknowledge that Slovakia does not have enough politicians of a statesmanlike nature. This is a result of the fact that it was the object rather than the subject of its own history for too long.

I would like to alert those who so enthusiastically welcome the victory of the Hungarian Socialist Party and expect some "new" accommodating steps from it to the fact that, speaking in Heidelberg in mid-March 1994, Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Gyula Horn deliberately and unfavorably referred to Slovakia as "a country that belongs not to Central Europe but to the Balkans." Some left-wing politicians in Slovakia present Horn as a possibly more acceptable alternative for the improvement of Slovak-Hungarian relations. We must quickly get rid of this illusion. Any Hungarian politician, irrespective of his "faith" and political orientation, whether he be a conservative, a socialist, or a liberal, will promote in his practical policy the selfish, solely Hungarian geopolitical interests. I am drawing attention to this now so that, because of the proverbial Slovak propensity to make concessions, we do not let ourselves be hoodwinked by the honey-sweet statements of Hungarian politicians. It is naive to believe that a Warsaw-Bratislava-Budapest "socialist axis" might be some kind of a rescue for the Slovak Republic. This is not a solution for the state or national interest of the Slovak Republic. Defending the territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic against external pressures must remain our primary interest. [passage omitted]

DS Objects to Unification of Right Under KDH

AU1605181794 Bratislava SME in Slovak 11 May 94 p 2

[Interview with Ivan Miklos, deputy chairman of the Democratic Party, by Maria Hluchanova; place and date not given: "The Christian Democratic Movement Proposal Does Not Offer the Possibility of Forming a Right-Wing Bloc"]

[Text] Representatives of five political parties held talks yesterday on the possibility of forming a right-wing bloc and on the implementation of the proposal of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] of so-called open KDH slates of candidates.

[Hluchanova] Is it the Democratic Party [DS] that hampers the implementation of the proposal for right-wing entities to participate in the elections on KDH slates of candidates?

[Miklos] No. I see a problem in whether there will be readiness to seek a better solution than the one proposed by the KDH.

[Hluchanova] What is your idea of forming a right-wing bloc?

[Miklos] The Christian Democrats' proposal does not offer the possibility of forming a right-wing bloc. There is to be a ticket of a single party and not a common ticket of several political entities with similar programs. A common ticket could be far more successful from the viewpoint of both maximizing electoral gains and minimizing the risk of votes getting lost.

[Hluchanova] Are there any differences of opinion between you and DS Chairman Pavel Hagyari on this issue?

[Miklos] From the viewpoint of our present attitude toward the need to seek other possibilities of uniting the right-wing parties, our views are identical. However, this does not necessarily mean the same standpoint in the event of a final decision.

Ministry Demands REPUBLIKA Change Name

AU1705083194 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 May 94 pp 1-2

[Article by "TA SR, do": "A Precedent That Is Without Parallel in the World; Ministry of Culture Demands That the Daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA Change Its Name"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—On 28 April 1994, SALUS Ltd. registered with the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic a daily newspaper called SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA [SLOVAK REPUBLIC], states the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic in a statement it made available to the TA SR yesterday.

The press law, as amended by subsequent regulations, does not stipulate any restrictions regarding the names of periodicals. On the other hand, the name in question is the official name of a state that, as transpires from the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, must not be used by any other domestic or foreign entity. Slovakia is registered under this unique name with the United Nations and other international organizations and was internationally recognized under this name. In other words, the name of the state is protected by international legal regulations, and its use by other entities is out of the question, also because it could be mistaken for another entity—for example, abroad. Speaking about the name of the state having been abused is possible on the theoretical plane only. In the specific case of the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, such an abuse in the legal sense did not occur. In a letter on 12 May 1994, the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic, as the registering authority, asked the publisher, SALUS Ltd., to register a change in the present name of the daily so as to make the name of the periodical conform with the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and international legal regulations.

"Giving a daily or another periodical the name of a state can be considered a precedent that is without parallel in the world," Lubomir Fogos, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Mandate and Immunity Committee, who is one of our foremost experts on international and constitutional law, said yesterday. In his opinion, the Constitution of the Slovak Republic lacks stipulations that would apply to such instances of the name of the state being used for commercial purposes. He considers it unusual, however, when state symbols, to which the name of the Republic undeniably belongs, are used in ways that actually debase them. [passage omitted]

[Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 13 May on page 2 carries a 100-word "zl"-signed report on a briefing given by the Democratic Union on 12 May. According to the report, "Democratic Union Deputy Chairman Roman Kovac expressed astonishment at the fact that the Ministry of Culture registered the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, which carries the name of the state. He said that the government would ask that the circumstances under which this happened be reconsidered and that it would draw conclusions from this."]

1993 Closing Account, Financing of Deficit

AU1605181594 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 May 94 p 3

[Article by "ip": "High Price of State Debt; Budget Economy Reflects State of the Economy"]

[Text] Bratislava—On 10 May the Slovak Government approved the State Closing Account of the Slovak Republic for 1993. Although it was expected that the budget deficit would be higher than indicated by the treasury balance, the reality is even harsher than expected.

The deficit indicated by the treasury balance—23 billion Slovak korunas [Sk]—must be adjusted to include some items that increase it, in fact. This includes, first and foremost, the deficit of Sk5.8 billion on the clearing account with the Czech Republic, which figures on the revenue side of the state budget even though it represents a liability that increases the Slovak Republic's debt toward the Czech Republic. Without the impact of the clearing account, the deficit would therefore represent Sk28.8 billion. Other items that have to be added are uncovered debts in health care (Sk1.8 billion) and education (Sk1.2 billion). The actual budget deficit for last year therefore amounts to Sk31.8 billion.

Budget revenues fell Sk7.8 billion short of the projected sum last year. This was mainly the result of lower than expected contributions to pension and health insurance and to employment [not further specified]. The shortfall was also caused by lower than expected tax and customs payments. Tax arrears of Sk12.8 billion still represent a potential source of state budget revenue. A frequent cause of the nonfulfillment of tax obligations is that entrepreneurial subjects, the existence of which is threatened, prefer the repayment of bank credits to the fulfillment of their obligations toward the state budget.

Projected budget expenditures were exceeded by Sk15.2 billion. They increased following the abolition of regulation [of budget revenues] in October as a result of problems in health services, education, and social security and due to the growth of credit interest rates, which influenced payments associated with the state debt. Measures to increase state budget expenditures (by

Sk10.9 billion) and to lower state budget expenditures (by Sk4.3 billion) were taken in the course of the year. The difference was used mainly in the social sphere and health services and to finance the transfer of activities from former federal authorities to Slovak authorities.

Payments of interest to the Slovak National Bank [NBS] amounted to Sk5.6 billion, which is about one-fourth of the reported budget deficit. Liabilities toward the NBS arose as a result of the current deficit for 1993 and uncovered deficits for previous years and as a result of the assumption of the former federation's liabilities connected with trade activities and with the financing of investment projects abroad.

The state of state financial assets and liabilities underwent a major change as of 1 January 1993. In accordance with the law on the division of federal property, the Slovak Republic assumed a large-scale bloc of state and Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka [Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Bank, CSOB] financial assets and liabilities (assets of Sk98.6 billion and liabilities of Sk69 billion).

The state debt went up by Sk27 billion in the course of 1993, and the Slovak Republic's aggregate debt reached Sk123 billion by the end of the year.

The deficit of the state budget for 1993 cannot be covered from state financial assets because of their low level of liquidity. The government will therefore propose to the National Council of the Slovak Republic that the deficit be covered by proceeds from the issue of state bonds.

[Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak on 11 May on page 2 carries a 300-word TA SR report on the Slovak Government's approval of the state closing account for 1993. The report notes that budget revenues reached Sk150.3 billion, Sk7.8 billion less than projected, and budget expenditures Sk173.3 billion, Sk15.2 more than projected. The report attributes the "disproportion" between budget revenues and budget expenditures to "the founding of the independent state, the introduction of a new system of taxation, the decline of economic performance, a moderate decline of final consumption, inflation growth, and the insolvency of entrepreneurial entities."]

Horn Comments on Accident, Possible Nomination

LD1605134194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0445 GMT 16 May 94

[Interview with Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Gyula Horn by correspondent Jozsef Laszlo; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Laszlo] [passage omitted] Last week new and controversial details emerged about your accident. How do you remember it now, more than a week after your accident? What actually happened?

[Horn] I told the police that we were traveling at about 90 km an hour. I know this precisely, because we were joking about it just before the accident. I saw a flash in front of us on the road but I do not remember anything more because the driver swerved and we crashed. It is a fact that the truck did not have any lights on; it is a fact that there was nobody in front of us to overtake and that the road was completely dry. Thus the circumstances would have been right—barring something untoward—for us to avoid this stupid accident. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] The question arises whether you will accept the nomination for prime minister.

[Horn] Well, look, it depends on my party's decision. We decided, and it was adopted by the congress at the end of February, that once the coalition negotiations are completed, a special congress will make the final decision in personnel matters. If this body, by expressing the opinion of the membership, decides that Gyula Horn is suitable for this task, naturally, I will not run away from the responsibility. I will accept the responsibility. [passage omitted]

The important thing is that the future economic decisionmakers in the cabinet should have total power. What went on here for four years—when the leader of the economic decisionmaking body was changed nearly every year—was untenable. However, before anyone can accuse me of pushing my party's interests, let me tell you that I have never volunteered for any post; I was always asked. If the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] wins the elections and decides to nominate me for prime minister, naturally I will say yes. If not, it is not the end of the world for me.

[Laszlo] [passage omitted] The press reported earlier that the MSZP might be willing not only to form a coalition with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], but perhaps also with the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] or the Christian Democrats. What is the situation now?

[Horn] There are no coalition negotiations under way with any party. I have to add, of course, that a kind of preliminary consultation is under way. [passage omitted] We are open to the SZDSZ. Naturally, this openness could decrease if a certain tone or style got the upper hand within the SZDSZ, which we would not be pleased to see.

As for Fidesz, well, it suffered a serious loss in the elections. Unfortunately, the style of statements made by some Fidesz leaders during the election campaign sometimes resembled the extreme right. Under these circumstances it would be very difficult for the MSZP to achieve an agreement with representatives of this style.

Regarding the Christian Democrats, we said at the end of February that we are ready to cooperate with the Christian Democratic People's Party, to be precise, if it sheds its extremist tendencies. Well, I do not see many signs of this being done.

[Laszlo] MSZP leaders have often said that they do not wish to conduct any kind of spring cleaning—either on a large scale or a small scale. How do you envision the running of offices in the next tenure of government?

[Horn] The prime minister and the political state secretaries have to go when there is a change of government. As to whether the administrative state secretaries will go or stay, in my mind this is up to a personal and subjective decision. In the case of the deputy state secretaries, their professional performance has to be examined. These will be our guiding principles if we are in this position. To my mind there are very many who worked very well in the past four years.

[Laszlo] How do you envision the oft-mentioned social consensus or agreement, in which employers, employees, and politics would all participate?

[Horn] We have issued a letter of intent regarding the organization of an economic and social agreement. The goal is to create an agreement between the government and the interest protection organizations of the employers and employees, but not only on social issues. For example, the reform of the budget must be started by all means, that is, the reform of the large-scale system of distribution.

There is a need for a new privatization practice or policy. The opportunity must be created for a new modernization program, that is, over and above privatization something real and genuine should take place in the modernization of the economy. Because, contrary to all other talks, one of the facts of the past four years is: first, modernization has not begun in the economy. Second, productivity has declined. The recovery of Hungarian agriculture and currency can be considered a national issue. Naturally, on the issues of income, taxation, social security, and the health service, agreement must be reached in the most concrete manner, in writing and in public. For in the next period everything must be done in public.

There is a need for the greatest degree of self-restraint on behalf of every participant in social and political public life. For nobody can produce a miracle here. It is

impossible to raise the standard of living suddenly from nothing and to improve social services. However, improvement can be achieved by a much better and much fairer distribution system.

[Laszlo] The party faced accusations earlier that a certain section of the party is inclined to initiate some sort of restoration. These accusations can still be heard today.

[Horn] The MSZP does not want any kind of restoration, for example renationalization. Our goal and basic philosophy is to create a social market economy and a market economy cannot be built without a considerable proportion of private ownership.

The newly and legally acquired property of new owners must not be touched. Just as the church properties must not be touched either. Compensation: We were against it in parliament, but now we want to finish it. We want to complete it. What the previous government and parliament pledged must be completed. However, it must be finished as soon as possible, as early as in 1995. There is no chance for any kind of restoration, for anybody who contemplates this is bound to be defeated and we do not want to be defeated but to succeed.

Konya: 'Great Concern' Over Accident

LD1605203694 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpts] Interior Minister Imre Konya reacted to the statement by Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], late last night in a press release to MTI. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Konya] I consider these kinds of statements as giving rise to great concern. Here in this country we have succeeded over the past four years in creating a police force that is really free of politics; and now a chairman of a political party—and what is more, a party which, together with the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], is preparing to govern in coalition—brings into doubt in a public statement the correct behavior, the training, and the professionalism of this police force.

I think that such statements may be very significant warning signs for the future. Such an excessive power is a danger to democracy in any case and even more so if the MSZP has a larger than two-thirds parliamentary majority. They will be able to do what they want and that is not at all reassuring in the light of such statements. I hope that in the course of this week the police will be able to provide unambiguously proven facts to the public. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Is there the slightest suspicion that it [Horn's road accident] was not an accident?

[Konya] No such suspicion exists whatsoever—apart from the suspicion raised by Chairman Horn. [end recording]

KDNP Leader Surjan Views Election Prospects

AU1705063794 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 May 94 p 5

[Interview with Laszlo Surjan, chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party, by Janos A. Szilagyi; place and date not given: "I Would Also Accept the Leadership of an Opposition Party"]

[Text] [Szilagyi] Both the National Committee and the Executive Committee of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] have already discussed the political situation that emerged after the first round of the elections. How did you evaluate the election results?

[Surjan] According to the leading bodies of the KDNP, despite the modest increase in votes compared with the 1990 elections, the first round of the current elections was a failure for the KDNP. The aforementioned increase in votes was not proportional with the organizational development of the KDNP. Our party obtained better-than-average results in areas where we succeeded in presenting a candidate who won the confidence of the voters, a confidence that exceeded the general support for our party.

[Szilagyi] How do you intend to improve your position in the second round?

[Surjan] The balance of forces between various parties was practically determined by the first round of elections. The KDNP suggests that the voters take primarily the candidates' professionalism into consideration, but they should not forget about the parties that have similar concepts with us either. Just like in the case of nominating candidates, local organizations decide on support. One thing is certain: There will be no written agreement with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], like the one signed in 1990, because an agreement on mutual withdrawal has already been achieved in the two districts where we remained opponents.

[Szilagyi] Two days ago, you did not exclude an anti-leftist cooperation that would include the Alliance of Free Democrats, like an opposition roundtable.

[Surjan] Reality shows that the opposition roundtable cannot be revived overnight, and there are no possibilities for the emergence of a five-party government. The gaps between the parties are too deep for this to happen.

[Szilagyi] You clearly excluded the possibility of a coalition with the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] earlier. Nor did you consider any cooperation with the SZDSZ as possible. In view of your election results so far, has your position changed?

[Surjan] My answer is a firm no. The MSZP failed to come up with a principled declaration regarding the 1956 events, and their close contacts with the trade unions also makes our cooperation impossible.

[Szilagyi] The KDNP Executive Committee postponed the detailed analysis of the election results until its next meeting. In your view, why did the KDNP fail to obtain the expected 12-18 percent of the votes?

[Surjan] Many circumstances played a role in our failure. In the course of the governing burdens, the KDNP did not assign enough time and energy for the reorganization of its internal structure. The KDNP failed to operate the flow of information adequately within the party, it did not ask the members enough, and it failed in making the society aware of the party's concepts. We failed to make the people really aware of the successes and objective difficulties of the governing activity.

[Szilagyi] The Executive Committee decided yesterday on convening the National Committee in July to carry out personnel changes. Your decision means that your election failure could have personnel consequences. What responsibility do you feel for your party's election results?

[Surjan] Every party leader should think over what he could have done better. I do not have to evaluate my four-year activity; the relevant body will probably do this in the near future. In any case, as required by our statute, I will resign and thus give the opportunity for my party to decide whether to extend my mandate as party chairman.

[Szilagyi] Do you also consider the possibility of leading the KDNP as an opposition party?

[Surjan] I find an investigation necessary, so that we can continue our work calmly. The KDNP is preparing to play the role of an opposition party. Social justice and the protection of small people should determine our policy in the coming years, but we will not make use of any demagogy.

MSZP Economist Views Tasks for Government

AU1705103294 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 May 94 p 10

[Interview with Laszlo Bekesi, economic expert for the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Laszlo Hajnal; place and date not given: "The Central Payments Can Also Be Stopped"]

[Text] The new government will first have to make a full inventory of the country's situation to find out where we start from, Laszlo Bekesi has said. Bekesi, who formulated the economic program for the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], also said that, after the new cabinet comes into office, immediate measures will be necessary to stop the further increase of the domestic and foreign state debt. Parallel with the quick measures, the 1995 budget will have to be prepared, and the so far delayed reform of state administration will have to be started, which will probably take up all of the next parliamentary cycle.

[Hajnal] On the night of the elections, MSZP Deputy Chairman Imre Szekeres said that the party was preparing a six-month action plan in which the most important tasks are laid down. Which measures will apply to the economy after the new government is formed?

[Bekesi] We are indeed preparing a 15-point package, in which the most important tasks are laid down: What can be implemented or corrected this year, and how to prepare for the next year because the draft 1995 budget will also have to be prepared by the fall. At the same time, this six-month period is deceptive because, in my view, the next government will not even have one day's grace, it will have to begin to act straight away.

First of all, we are making a full inventory of the macro-processes because, although we are familiar with the major indicators, we do not possess all the information. We must have exact information on the country's economic situation and its assets, our forint and foreign currency obligations, and the central burdens of the ongoing processes—for example, debtor consolidation or privatization. When this inventory is completed, then we will have to show it—our starting point—to the country. In my view, the country's increasing domestic and foreign indebtedness is the most dangerous process, we must not delay curbing this, and results should be achieved in this area still in 1994.

[Hajnal] One way of doing this can be the often mentioned and inevitable supplementary budget. However, as the supplementary budget cannot be accepted before September, its effectiveness may be questionable, especially if both the expenditure and revenue sides have so far been adhered to proportionately with time.

[Bekesi] Essentially, we can only consider changing the expenditure side, which means the freezing of certain items. I am thinking of the 40 decentralized funds that are kind of small budgets within the big budget. In my view, out of the funds that represent some 100 billion forints' state support, the payment of almost all titles can be frozen apart from the money given to the agricultural sector, the municipalities, and employment. This can mean some 20 to 30 billion forints. In addition to this, other state payments can also be stopped, mainly the support given to governmental and political organs, which can reduce the expenditure side by another 20 billion forints. Naturally, these are only estimates, this is precisely the reason we have to prepare a correct inventory and situation assessment.

It is more difficult to change the revenue side; increasing taxes is certainly out of the question. However, it is worth looking at the 150 billion forints of social security demands; according to the experts, some 50 billion of this could be moved, however, it is undoubtedly true that many tools, including the legal background in certain cases, are lacking for the mobilization of these assets.

Naturally, it is only worth making a supplementary budget if real savings can be achieved through it.

[Hajnal] In your previous statements, among the immediate tasks, you mentioned the suspension of certain passages of the law on cooperatives, a possible stopping of the preferential share purchase program [KRP], and the formulation of new asset policy principles. What concrete measures were you thinking of, especially when the KRP is being offered to ordinary people by the current government?

[Bekesi] In the case of the cooperatives, we have to prevent the remaining assets from being further taken to pieces, this has to be stopped immediately. I am convinced that the same should be done with the KRP because this method does not mean the inclusion of new capital and it does not really create new owners. Of course, the KRP can also be amended but the details of this still have to be looked at.

[Hajnal] In the meantime, the year 1995 also has to be prepared. What are the tasks facing legislation?

[Bekesi] The majority of tax laws will certainly have to be amended, which would mean further tax reductions and tax allowances. These would be aimed at stimulating enterprises and savings. Further legislative tasks would be: Drawing up the foreign currency code and the customs law, amending the local authority law, creating export guarantees, and many others.

[Hajnal] Implementing the reform of state administration would be an urgent task for the new government. How long would it take to implement this reform and what are its major points?

[Bekesi] In my view, the implementation of the reform would take up the whole parliamentary cycle, but it certainly cannot be delayed any more. Within this, we have to solve the financing of the domestic state debts, on the revenue side it is necessary to reexamine the state functions, within this, the basic services and the proportions of distribution have to be corrected, naturally, linked to compensation, and the decentralized funds will also certainly have to be reduced.

[Hajnal] In the past, a number of people formulated the MSZP's actual economic program. Is this program the one signed by you or the one that appeared in an advertisement, perhaps, with the influence of trade unions?

[Bekesi] I believe that it is the former because the MSZP's congress accepted it, and this version appeared in the party's election program. Naturally, the way this will appear as a coalition government's program will have to be decided in negotiations with the partners.

[Hajnal] As the person who drew up the MSZP's economic program, what role do you envisage for yourself in the new government?

[Bekesi] It would be far too early to talk about this because much depends on the second round of the elections. The question is, what kind of government will be formed, what members it will have, what kind of program can be drawn up with these members, and whether I actually wish to participate in it because this is a two-way street.

Court Bans Activities of People's Rule Party

LD1605182794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Following the banning of the activities of the Hungarist Movement, the operations of the World National People's Rule Party [VNP] have also been declared illegal.

With its first degree ruling, the Budapest Metropolitan Court has effectively dissolved the VNP. The court established that the activity of the party led by Albert Szabo offends the rights of people to live in dignity, which are enshrined in the Constitution. It also offends the rights of the individual and breaches regulations that determine the rights of association. The court's ruling is not absolute.

Military Agreement Signed With Sweden

LD1605121494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1102 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Warsaw, 16 May (PAP)—An intergovernmental agreement on "cooperation and exchange of information on some issues concerning defense" was signed today by Swedish Defense Minister Anders Bjorck and Poland's National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

Poland is the first country of the East bloc with which Sweden has signed such an agreement. Minister Bjorck pointed out that this transpires from the fact that Poland stands "in the forefront of the states of this part of Europe that have carried out democratic changes."

So far, Poland has signed 21 agreements on military cooperation, among others, with all of its neighbors.

Further on Defense Agreement

LD1605204794 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] In Warsaw today, Poland's and Sweden's defense ministers, Piotr Kolodziejczyk and Anders Bjorck, signed an intergovernment agreement on defense issues. It covers the exchange of information, military training, and cooperation between arms-manufacturing companies. Following the good experience of collaboration between the Mesko Engineering Works and the Swedish Bofors, both sides are hoping that Swedish participation in modernizing our Iryda and Skorpion aircraft, as well as military vehicles and warships, will be similarly successful .

Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk referred to the fine cooperation traditions, especially from the interwar period.

[Begin Kolodziejczyk recording] Now we are going back to renewing these traditions. This refers also, or perhaps above all, to cooperation in the arms-manufacturing industry. Both sides are interested in this cooperation—Sweden and Poland equally. Our industry needs an injection of new technologies. It will thus be able to make use of its far-from-negligible intellectual and production potential. Sweden is agreeing to partnerlike cooperation—that is, not to the selling and buying of consumables but to investing their technologies in our industries. I hope the cooperation is going to be mutually beneficial. The first experiences, involving such well-known companies as Bofors and Ericsson, are behind us. These experiences were positive. [end recording]

[Announcer] Minister Andres Bjorck emphasized that Poland was the first postcommunist country with which Sweden has signed an agreement on cooperation in the military field.

[Begin Bjorck recording, English with superimposed translation into Polish] Poland is the first country of the former Warsaw Treaty, and we had no doubts that that is how it was going to be—first, because your country is leading in making democratic changes in this part of the region, and, second, both our countries, which are neighbors across the Baltic, are interested in maintaining peace and stability in the region. Sweden believes peace will not come by itself. It is raising its spending for defense purposes that could serve our cooperation. It is also important to give content to Partnership for Peace, in which our countries are participating. [end recording]

[Announcer] Andres Bjorck also expressed the hope that Russia would join Partnership for Peace and would not be guided by particular interests.

The Swedish minister was received by President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak.

Swedish Defense Minister Received

LD1605153094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1332 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Warsaw, 16 May—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak today received Swedish Defense Minister Anders Bjorck. The meeting was attended by Polish Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk. Minister Kolodziejczyk briefed the prime minister on the details of an agreement signed between Poland and Sweden. The agreement primarily concerns cooperation in the arms industry.

Minister Bjorck pointed out that the agreement is the first document of its kind signed by Sweden with a former member state of the Warsaw Pact. He added that his country is also interested in expanding cooperation with Poland within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program.

Prime Minister Pawlak expressed satisfaction at signing the agreement and stated that Poland is interested in wide and balanced cooperation, not only in the defense industry but also in other branches of the economy. Issues of security and stability in the Baltic Sea region were also raised during the meeting, a communique by the Government Press Office says.

Oleksy Urges Establishment of CE Office

WS1705085294 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 17 May 94 p 1

[Article by "SAR": "Spring Meeting of European Parliament Members—Poland Willing To Support Russia"]

[Text] *A three-day spring meeting of the Council of Europe [CE] Parliamentary Assembly began in Warsaw on 16 May. On behalf of Poland, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy suggested that a CE regional office be established in Warsaw, which would be designed to suit the needs of Central and East European countries. The issue of accepting Russia as a CE member was one of the main topics of a meeting of the CE Commission for Political Affairs.*

Miguel Martinez, chairman of the CE Parliamentary Assembly, stated during a meeting with Polish President Lech Walesa that it is precisely Poland from which the

CE expects an opinion concerning the incorporation of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine, among others, into European structures. Ernst Muehlemann, the commission's rapporteur, told journalists that there will be no preferential treatment or a less rigid application for Russia. He stressed that Russia's joining CE is possible "after the necessary, democratic reforms are implemented. We have no more than a year's time to come to a decision on this issue," he added. The commission has also considered the possibility of accepting eight other countries that have been striving for membership, among them Ukraine, Moldova, Latvia, and Albania. Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy said that "involving Russia in European structures is in the interest of Poland and Europe; it is beneficial from the standpoint of the stability of the entire continent. Poland is leaning toward accepting Russia's application for membership."

While suggesting on behalf of Poland that a regional CE office be established in Warsaw, which would be especially oriented toward the needs of Central and East European countries, Jozef Oleksy said that "these needs require a better than heretofore knowledge of them and an improved meeting of them." Poland has extensive knowledge of the realities of the region, as well as experience in reforming an economy and the state. Commenting on the proposal, E. Muehlemann said that the issue will definitely be a subject of debate. Because it would mean major expenditures, it is only the CE Committee of Ministers that is authorized to make a final decision.

The CE, a political intergovernmental organization that has been active for the sake of European unification, was established in 1949. It comprises 32 European pluralistic democracies, including nine Central and East European countries. Right now, the candidacies of eight other countries are being debated, among them Russia, Latvia, and Estonia. Poland became the 26th member of the CE on 26 November 1991. The CE Parliamentary Assembly holds plenary sessions four times a year at its Strasbourg headquarters, and it also holds a fifth session—the spring meetings—in one of the member countries.

Envoy: Poles in Lithuania Allowed To Vote

LD1305162394 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1142 GMT 13 May 94

[Text] Warsaw, 13 May—Jan Widacki, the Polish ambassador to Vilnius, said today during a visit to Warsaw that it is untrue to say that the Poles in Lithuania have been deprived of their electoral rights.

"Limiting participation in the fall local government elections to political organizations violates the spirit of self-government as understood in Europe and is unfavorable for the Poles in Lithuania, particularly for the Union of Poles in Lithuania [ZPL], but it is not deprivation of electoral rights," Widacki stated.

He stressed that the Lithuanian Seimas had not yet passed the local government election regulations. On 9 May, during partial voting, an article permitting only political organizations to put forward candidates in the elections was adopted, which means the exclusion of social and sociopolitical organizations, which include the ZPL, from participation.

Widacki stressed that, even if the electoral regulations were passed in their present form, it would not exclude ZPL members from participating in the elections, but they would be forced quickly to set up a political organization (election committee) [PAP parentheses] based on the ZPL.

Poll Shows Walesa Continues To Lose Popularity

WS1705103594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 May 94 p 2

[Article by E.O.: "Three-Fourths of People Do not Approve of President; Lech Walesa Loses Support"]

[Text] In April, only 25 percent of the people approved of the president's activities, whereas 64 percent were critical of them. A previous opinion poll carried out by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] last February shows that Lech Walesa's popularity dropped by 10 points. In the group of authority centers, the president occupied the last position in April as far as his activities were concerned.

Lech Walesa's popularity in the social opinion has been dropping steadily since the middle of 1991. In April 1991, his activities were approved by 70 percent of the respondents to a CBOS poll. The 25-percent approval for Lech Walesa, declared by the CBOS respondents, has been the lowest since the time he took over the office.

As it turned out, Lech Walesa's conflict with the governing coalition (numerous vetoes and public shows of disapproval), which took place between February and April of this year, was most detrimental to the president himself—he lost as many as 10 points in popularity opinion polls (in February, 35 percent of respondents approved of his activities and 55 percent expressed their disapproval).

Thus, the office of the president found itself in the second to last position in the popularity ranking of various establishments. The people declare less trust only for private banks (21 percent approve of them).

The statistical supporter of Lech Walesa is either younger than 25 or older than 65, has rightist political views, and takes part in religious activities several times a week. Among employed people, he is primarily backed by skilled workers and among professionally passive people—by senior citizens, disabled pensioners, and unemployed people.

The people declare the greatest trust for the Army (76 percent), the spokesman for civil rights (70 percent), and public television (69 percent).

Probably because of the "corruption affair" in Poznan, approval for police activities decreased by nearly 10 points; however, its activities are still accepted by as many as 57 percent of the people—just as many people support the activities of self-governments in their regions.

The government and the Sejm are enjoying double the popularity of the president. Within the past two months, there has also been an increase in the approval of the activities of the Senate, whose activities were accepted by 41 percent of the respondents in April of this year.

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The opinion poll was carried out between 14 and 18 April of this year on a representative sample of 1,207 adult inhabitants of the country.

Administration Official Explains Resignation

WS1605120094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 May 94 pp 1-2

[Interview with Michal Kulesza, government plenipotentiary for the reform of the administration, by Renata Wrobel; place and date not given: "Kulesza: My Mission Has Been Exhausted"]

[Text] "If I feel that I am supposed to be the government's plenipotentiary for blocking the reform of the public administration, I will resign," said Michal Kulesza, the government's plenipotentiary for the reform of the administration, at one time. Yesterday, during a session of the Second Congress of Territorial Self-Government, Kulesza publicly informed about his resignation. He was appointed to this post by the previous Council of Ministers, the one chaired by Hanna Suchocka, in the fall of 1992. RZECZPOSPOLITA asked him to explain the reasons for his decision.

[Wrobel] Many people expected you to submit your resignation soon after last year's parliamentary elections.

[Kulesza] I often heard opinions at that time that the fate of the reform was a foregone conclusion. I faced the following dilemma: Should I look upon myself as a politician of the previous government's people, who were cleaning their desks and leaving, or the other way around—stay with the hope that the issues I dealt with would be continued.

[Wrobel] What did you base these hopes on? The new government avoided any declarations on the issue of this reform. What is more, it began its activities by stopping the pilot program in towns and cities.

[Kulesza] I believed at the time, and I still do, that the reform is inevitable and that it takes not really bad will but state abnegation to curb it. I did not think there is such a great thirst for power within the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. Of course, if someone has emerged from political nonbeing for the first time in a couple of decades and has passed from a level of village administration to a level of governing the country, certain processes are unavoidable. However, I thought that, after a certain period, things would begin to die down. Reform is a great strategic maneuver that requires time. Those who in December wanted the government to know whether it wants the reform were wrong. The prime minister must not be pinned to the wall: "Unless you reform the state within two weeks, you are stupid."

[Wrobel] How is what you called "thirst for power" detrimental to the reform of the administration?

[Kulesza] For example, in changing the cadres in the *nomenklatura*-like style. In the corridors of the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM], one can hear people whispering that this or that guy is coming back to earn additional money to add to his retirement pension. In voivodships, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] is taking part in the division of loot rather modestly, whereas the PSL is filling posts in an extremely brutal manner. I can understand that a voivode may not satisfy the prime minister for some reasons. However, there must be reasons other than pressure of local party elites. The PSL is not changing people because they are the wrong people in those places but, rather, because it has to satisfy the demand for power within the party. First they wanted to change only voivodes, then deputy voivodes, directors of departments, and so on. If one manages to snare such a post, he is followed by a large group of others. Along with people, old ways of governing that we thought we had buried a long time ago are coming back. We are witnessing the process of making the administration political to a gigantic degree. Minister Strak within just a few months recreated a *nomenklatura*-like model of administration, similar to the one we had in the Polish People's Republic. In doing so, he undid the four-year efforts aimed at making the civil service cadres independent of politics.

The thirst for power is also reflected in conceptual thinking. The PSL achieved its greatest success in Poland after 1989. In some configuration, it will rule for the next 15 or 20 years, and, even if it finds itself in the opposition, it will be a very strong opposition. In this situation, it is behaving narrow-mindedly. It realizes that, when powiat [small administrative unit] elections are held, it will take its share, but it will require some efforts. Why get tired, then, its activists seem to be saying, if we are doing very well anyway?

[Wrobel] You were not the PSL plenipotentiary; you were the plenipotentiary of the government. The government coalition also includes the SLD, which, as it is known, has a different view of the reform of the administration.

[Kulesza] The PSL is employing effective, even though utterly uncivilized, methods in its policy: It is omitting substantive aspects of discussions; it is avoiding any kind of political "scheming" such as: yes, a reform, but in a slightly different manner. The SLD, which seems to be

favorably disposed toward the reform, is letting it go at that, just as it is doing on many other issues. It cannot or does not want to get through with its ideas.

[Wrobel] Do you not think that curbing the reform may be at least partially caused by the hope that, after the forthcoming elections to gmina [smallest administrative units] councils, more of "our" people will come, and it will be possible to adjust possible changes to them?

[Kulesza] I do not acknowledge such reasoning at all. If the belief that "our people are better" were to be a fragment of the state doctrine, it would mean that I have been here a half-year too long.

[Wrobel] Why did you decide to resign now?

[Kulesza] Recently, the real intentions of the government have become clear. A deputies' initiative was submitted in the Sejm concerning the law on powiats. The Sejm speaker requested the government to take a stand. This was at the beginning of March. On 24 March, I forwarded a positive opinion to the URM head, the prime minister, and the members of the Council of Ministers. I did it of my own accord because, as usual, I was omitted. Today is the middle of May and there is still no answer; the government has not made any decision, nothing has come to the Sejm. What does it mean?

[Wrobel] It means, perhaps, that the government has more important issues to deal with now.

[Kulesza] One can say so, although one must have a lot of goodwill. Another issue: Early in April, bills concerning the government administration and the state civil service appeared. I did not work on them, either. I prepared a negative opinion because these bills are embarrassing: They are not in line with what is happening in modern democracies; they make the administration political and reduce the state civil service almost to an empty name. No one was interested in this.

This is what I had been waiting for. The government's attitude to the powiats, to the reform of the center, and to the state civil service became clear. I dare say that the name of Michal Strak will go down in the history of Poland's administrative system as the person who caused the reforms to collapse.

[Wrobel] Do you think Prime Minister Pawlak is "without fault" here?

[Kulesza] To me it is understandable that the prime minister is not dealing with everything himself because he has his ministers. Michal Strak is his chief adviser in administrative issues he is in charge of. I dare say that he is fulfilling this function in a manner that is dramatically destructive.

[Wrobel] What was your position in the present government?

[Kulesza] It was absolutely marginal. For half a year I was not invited by Minister Strak for substantive talks on the functioning of the administration and the reforms. My office was gradually denied the possibilities of acting. I saw an utter lack of interest in the work that had been done thus far. I was often passed up when bills concerning my duties were being prepared. The bills that were drafted somewhere else either reached me or did not. No one cared about my opinions. As far as I know, Minister Strak has organized his own experts' teams, which are not conducting a social discussion.

I performed a lot of work that I liked and considered useful. I felt that the minister wanted to take advantage of me as one of his URM civil servants. However, I went there not to be a civil servant but to prepare a basic reform. If the government does not want that, my presence is entirely superfluous. At the meeting before the elections of the self-government people, who are the people of the reforms, I decided to tell them that my mission had been exhausted. I cannot look passively at the program of reforms, which Poland needs, being broken to pieces.

Chairman Views Aims of Movement for Republic

PM1705085894 Opole NOWA TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 10 May 94 p 5

[Interview with Romuald Szeremietiew, chairman of the Movement for the Republic political group, by correspondent Krzysztof Stecki; place and date not given]

[Text] [Stecki] Does Poland need right-wing parties today?

[Szeremietiew] It most certainly does. People need to have this option open to them. This is attested to by the more than 2 million votes cast in favor of the right-wing and center parties in the latest parliamentary election. Over the past 50 years, Poland engaged in a left-wing rule experiment, and now we must move away from that. All over the world, the left-wing orientation is being exposed as a false direction these days. I believe that what Poland needs today is not only a right-wing party but also a sorting out of the entire political scene. This process has already begun. Before long, only a few large, significant parties will be left in our country. These will most probably be the Union of Labor, the Freedom Union, a peasant party, a center-right movement, and an extreme right-wing party. I am an optimist but the kind of optimist who always considers coolly all of the pros and cons of any given situation. I believe Poland will win.

[Stecki] What was the chief reason for the split within the Movement for the Republic [RdR] group?

[Szeremietiew] Before the latest parliamentary election, I was largely viewed as a defeatist and a panicmonger by my RdR colleagues. I maintained that we should either put all of our money on one horse and devote our election campaign exclusively to high-power promotion of the RdR or, if we plan to form a coalition, do it

decisively and unconditionally, even if it means deciding not to put up RdR candidates to run side by side with the other partners' candidates on the joint election lists. However, as it turned out, the RdR aimed its campaign moves in all directions, and it ended in disaster. When it came to electing new RdR authorities, it turned out that my concept was the correct one.

[Stecki] To what extent has the RdR changed since you became its chairman?

[Szeremietiew] Its leadership functions differently now, and we cooperate with the media better than before. Jan Olszewski was against all unification moves, whereas today the RdR conducts unification negotiations, and we are already close to finalizing them and calling into being a center-right confederation. The character of the party has changed, too. Today we focus first of all on promoting the economy and the younger cadres, who are needed by Poland today.

[Stecki] You have mentioned a planned unification of the center and right groups. On what plane do you envisage it?

[Szeremietiew] On the program-formulating and organizational plane. We have analyzed the programs of our prospective partners and found that there are no points there that could not be coordinated. Whenever, during our talks, we arrive at a point at which differences in details could spoil everything, we interrupt the course of the negotiations. In other words, details must not be allowed to overshadow the more basic concepts. As far as organizational matters are concerned, we believe that party structures should cooperate among themselves, first in selecting and nominating joint candidates to the Sejm and then in selecting and nominating the right-wing group's candidate to the office of president.

[Stecki] Is there room for Olszewski's adherents in the future confederation?

[Szeremietiew] Of course. The entire problem is caused by the unfortunate fact that people do not understand that there are certain rules to be observed in such situations and that people who have lost an election do not necessarily have to take umbrage. I do not feel personally insulted by my opponents when they accuse me of usurping my present position, but I am surprised that, in their defeat, they were unable to resort to democratic procedures and thereby improve their positions. Once they regain their composure, they will realize that there are no objections to their joining us in the confederation.

[Stecki] Is the proposal submitted by Professor Rafal Krawczyk, your plenipotentiary for the economic program, that stipulates that you attack Polish bureaucracy through the universal privatization scheme intended also as yet another tool in the decommunization campaign? Or does the RdR have some other plans in this sphere?

[Szeremietiew] Of course we do. However, the principal objectives of privatization are quite different: to enhance the numerical strength of the middle layer of society—that is, the group of private owners. I personally do not like the word "decommunization" because its meaning has become too diluted by propaganda. I prefer the term "de-Sovietization." It is de-Sovietization that should be carried out in our armed forces so that they cease to resemble the Soviet Army in its structure and its philosophy. However, de-Sovietization implies predominantly a return to national values and a deliberate scattering of cliques and exclusive interest groups. To this we should add revised tax and criminal legislation.

[Stecki] Prof. Krawczyk talks about the significance of a national identity in both our economy and politics. How does that relate to Poland's plans to join European structures?

[Szeremietiew] As I said earlier, we should foster a return to national values in Poland. Indeed, these values should be a matter of priority to politicians. This actually ties in with the concept of our joining Europe. Here we have two options to consider. The first is the Gaullist option, which envisages a Europe of fatherlands, or national communities preserving their individual national identities. The second is the attempt to create a European union of supranational institutions—and that is unacceptable to us. In many countries, people protest against it already because they understand only too well that such a leftist concept carries with it a distinct whiff of large-scale bureaucracy. We believe that Poles will be the more European the more they are allowed to remain Polish.

[Stecki] Can you list for us the mistakes the RdR has made to date?

[Szeremietiew] First of all, we must appreciate that all of the movements that fought for Poland's independence stopped the struggle and rested on their laurels far too early after 1989. They all believed that because communism was no more everything else would take care of itself automatically. As regards the RdR, I must admit that we did not make optimal use of the opportunity to create a mass-membership party, when, following the collapse of our government, so many people came to RdR headquarters. We did not seize the chance to use the RdR parliamentary party as a perfect propaganda tool—which the Union of Real Politics did so brilliantly with its own parliamentary caucus. Finally, there is the question of the latest parliamentary election. We failed to form a coalition then, despite having a perfect opportunity to do just that.

[Stecki] Thank you for talking to us.

Minister Outlines Proposed 'Reprivatization'

WS1605120394 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 16 May 94 p 3

[Article by "B.D." from Lodz: "Coupons in Return for Lost Property; 300 Trillion Zlotys Worth of Claims"]

[Text] *Ownership Transformations Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek said in Lodz on 13 May that "there will be no reprivatization in Poland in the literal sense." The government proposes that former owners be given coupons instead of property or cash on the condition that the owner in question used to hold Polish citizenship.*

The government's draft law on compensation for real estate seized illegally on the basis of provisions enacted in the years 1944-58 envisages that reimbursement be paid out and that nationalization be finalized.

Sixty-five percent of reimbursement claims submitted to date apply to returning agricultural real estate and forests, 17 percent pertain to urban real estate, 5 percent to units dealing with services and trade, 2 percent to industrial enterprises, and 6 percent to other types of premises. The Ministry of Ownership Transformations estimates that all of the claims together total approximately 300 trillion zlotys [Z].

According to Kaczmarek, paying out such an amount or returning all of the property would endanger the state budget. He described the governmental reprivatization draft law as relatively safe, one that alleviates financial tensions and does not arouse new social conflicts.

Reimbursement is to be in the form of compensation coupons—that is to say, securities that reflect the value of the claims. Only individuals with Polish citizenship—at both the time the property was seized and currently—would be entitled to such coupons. They will also be distributed among owners of property left on the territory of areas that currently are not included within the Republic of Poland.

The draft does not allow for the possibility of returning a piece of property partially in the form of coupons and partially in the original form.

The coupons' value will be determined according to the principle of regression. If a claim does not exceed Z1 billion, 100 percent of the value of the property would be returned in the form of coupons. In the case of claims worth between Z1 and 3 billion, 1 billion would be returned, plus 10 percent of the remainder, while, in cases of property valued at Z3 to 10 billion, Z2.5 billion would be returned, plus 10 percent of the remainder. For property worth over Z10 billion, it would be Z4.1 billion plus 10 percent of the remaining amount over Z10 billion.

The reprivatization law would become effective three months after its publication. Applications would be collected over a year's time.

Coupons would be valid for 10 years and would be valorized by having their value increased by 10 percent for every calendar year.

With these coupons, one could purchase real estate and movable property being sold by the State Treasury, by gminas [small administrative units], and by self-governmental associations. Five percent of shares of each company being introduced onto the stock market would be reserved for owners of the coupons.

The draft law, which applies to reimbursements associated with loss of property in the years 1946-58, was approved by the Council of Ministers' Economic Committee on 6 May, while, on Friday, it was debated during a session by a Council for Reprivatization that operates as attached to the ownership transformations minister. "The governmental draft reprivatization law was written in a hurry and in accordance with the worst examples of the Polish People's Republic," said Krzysztof Laszkiewicz, the council's chairman. In his view, the coupons that are being suggested by the government as compensation for property lost will be conducive to corruption. These coupons, for which nobody will be willing to sell anything, will be losing their value with every passing month. But, most probably, so-called skillful people will emerge, who will begin purchasing the coupons for pennies while the rightful owners will be left with what they have had for the past 40-something years, which means they will be left with nothing. "Only foreign countries will know that, because a law is in force, the problem of reprivatization has already been resolved in Poland. I think that is the only intention here," Laszkiewicz added.

Government, Employers, Unions on Privatization

WS1705100394 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 17 May 94 p 2

[Article by "E.W.": "Government, Trade Unionists, and Employers, on Privatization Law; Commission Is Critical of Government and of Itself"]

[Text] *A two-day meeting of a Trilateral Commission for Socioeconomic Affairs began at the Labor Ministry on Monday [16 May]. Throughout Monday and Tuesday, representatives of the government, employers, and trade unions [TU's] will jointly debate behind closed doors the strike demands put forward by Solidarity, and they will discuss the government's proposals regarding changes in the law on state-owned enterprises. They will also be speculating as to a justification for raising prices on energy carriers and how to improve the situation of budget-sector employees.*

The law on privatization of state-owned enterprises is the sixth and final part of a batch of laws comprising the Agreement on State-Owned Enterprises. The Ministry of Ownership Transformations has suggested several changes to the document that had been agreed upon with the previous government. Among the proposals approved by the Council of Ministers' Economic Committee, the following are included:

—A change in the principles of distribution of preferential employee shares of an enterprise being privatized, from 10 to 15 percent of the total number of shares.

—The adoption of a principle that the initiative regarding transformation of an enterprise into a Treasury-owned joint-stock company is up to the organs of the enterprise in question.

—A promise to come up with a "privatization map," which means defining economic areas and the methods through which the state will control those areas.

The government intends to give up on a legal provision that speaks of emission of privatization coupons, and it is being planned that it is the chief of the Ownership Transformations Ministry who will decide on the particular privatization path an enterprise will follow. Still, enterprises would have a month in which to submit their vetoes of the privatization paths suggested for them, and the government's assurances are that the veto will prove efficient in practice.

Representatives of the Solidarity trade union were critical of the changes in the governmental draft privatization law. The trade union wants the government to present its justification for withdrawing from the draft law a legal provision concerning the possibility of issuing privatization coupons. As NOWA EUROPA was told by Longin Komolowski, trade union representatives find unsatisfactory the proposal to raise the percentage of employee shares in a company being privatized from 10 to 15 percent.

The All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement [OPZZ] has suggested that details of the law be debated during the commission's sessions, instead of within a specific topic-oriented group, as provided for in the Agreement on State-Owned Enterprises. Solidarity fears that a substantive discussion of the law will be transformed within the Trilateral Commission into an ideological debate concerning the vision of privatization. "The privatization law should be discussed by those trade unions that have signed the Agreement," Piotr Zak, press spokesman for Solidarity, told NOWA EUROPA. But OPZZ Deputy Chairman Maciej Manicki voiced the reservation that, if the debate takes place at three tables—for employers, for trade unions, and for Solidarity—the OPZZ will withdraw from the negotiations.

Assembly Speaker Comments on Future Parliament

LD1605193694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly Speaker Miro Lazovic said today that the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Assembly of the Bosnian-Croat federation were going to share their work. I expect the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to meet. According to the Constitution, it should take up the duties of the federation's assembly with the proviso that at that session, duties will be divided into two categories—tasks covered by the republic's Assembly and those relating to the future federation.

I believe that—if political agreement is reached—it will be possible to appoint top-level officials of the future federation. Some issues relating to the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will also be examined, Lazovic said at a news conference in Zagreb. The news conference was organized by a delegation of the Serb Civic Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Miro Lazovic is its member. He stressed that in the Bosnia-Herzegovina parliament there are deputies who had been elected in the 1990 elections. He said he expected Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] deputies to come and take part in the assembly's work—in their capacity as representatives of a party that contested the 1990 elections rather than as representatives of Herceg-Bosna.

Lazovic pointed out that the federal concept outlined in the Washington agreement should be extended to the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We believe that this is a concept that suits the Bosnian Serbs, too, as they are the second largest population group in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If this concept is not accepted, a huge number of the Serbs who stay to live in the territory of the Croat-Bosnian federation will fall into the category of other peoples, although they will account for almost the same percentage as the Croats.

Army: Serbs Fired on UN Position, Helicopter

LD1605212394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] A UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] position at the Brezovaca location on Mt Igman has come under heavy fire from the aggressor's positions. It ceased the moment the UN members responded accordingly. The chetniks also fired at a UN vehicle as it was passing along the Visoko-[word indistinct] road. Fire has also been opened at a UN helicopter overflying the (Vele) area, the 1st Corps says in its statement.

Serbs Fire at UN Near Maglaj; NATO Responds

AU1605144194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 May 94

[Report by Hajrudin Sermic from Maglaj]

[Text] This morning the Mt. Ozren chetniks, together with their recently arrived reinforcements, intensified their attacks on the free Maglaj territory. Fierce artillery fire directed at the positions of the 201st Chivalrous Brigade on the northern parts of the front, near Bijela Ploca, (Kojundzevaca), and Haluge started just after 0700 and went on until midday. Tanks, Bofors, and mortars from the infamous strongholds on Mt. Ozren fired at the town center. Two people were lightly wounded.

The UN Protection Forces in Maglaj again came under attack this morning, and the blue helmets were again—for the second day running—forced to respond to the chetnik fire. This time, however, NATO planes appeared very quickly. The Serbian aggressor is continuing to concentrate his forces toward Maglaj, so new attacks on this part of the free Bosnia-Herzegovina territory appear imminent.

Serbs Recapture Areas East of Tuzla

LD1605142294 Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpt] The Muslim offensive on the Mount Majevica battlefield diminished in intensity after Serbian soldiers succeeded in repelling several fierce Muslim artillery and infantry attacks, regaining areas captured by members of Izetbegovic's army in a surprise attack five days ago. Both sides suffered considerable losses in manpower in heavy fighting—hand-to-hand in many places—over the last five days, in which all available weapons and heavy artillery were used. However, the soldiers of the republic of Srpska army have almost completely regained temporarily lost areas and pushed the Muslim units back to their initial positions. Muslim forces fired more than 300 shells on residential areas during the clashes, targeting Priboj and Lopare, said Major-General Novica Simic, commander of the eastern Bosnia Corps. Chlorine-charged shells were even fired on the primary school in Priboj, Simic said, pointing out that Majevica was attacked from all directions and that it was the site of fiercest fighting currently taking place in the republic of Srpska. [passage omitted]

Army Captures Strategic Points on Kalesija Front

AU1605190494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] The fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 2nd Corps have also marked a success on the Kalesija-Zvornik front. In a successful counterattack, the fighters of the 205th and the 206th Brigade, together with additional units, have liberated the important strategic points Mala Jelica and Velika Jelica, while a part of the enemy forces remain surrounded in [word indistinct]. The defense line in this region now stretches in the direction of (Zavrsko Brdo) [word indistinct]. The chetnik losses are considerable. Mayor Krste (Medic),

commander of the 1st Semberija Infantry Brigade, and the chief of staff of the same brigade were killed in the fighting.

Due to their heavy losses, the chetniks have to carry out forceful mobilization of their population. This was reported by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

Serbs Suffer 'Total Defeat' on Mt. Majevica

AU1605190294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 94

[Report by the Press Center of the 206th Chivalrous Brigade of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army from the Zvornik front]

[Text] Since early morning the aggressor has been pounding the entire Zvornik free territory with tanks, howitzer batteries, and mortar batteries of all calibers. At the same time on the Mt. Majevica section of the front, the aggressor has been trying in vain with combined artillery and infantry attacks to break through our newly established defense lines. The brave fighters of the 206th Chivalrous Brigade of Zvornik, commanded by Commander Semsudin Muminovic, have rapidly and effectively repulsed a number of infantry attacks by Karadzic's cutthroats, defying a maelstrom of shells that has been raining down on them.

The chetniks seem incapable of understanding that they have suffered a total defeat on the peaks of Mt. Majevica, and are constantly launching new infantry attacks, ignoring the bodies of dozens of their fellow fighters that will forever remain on these peaks.

Army Captures 32 Km in Kladanj

AU1605190194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] After fierce fighting on the Kladanj front, the free territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been expanded by 32 square kilometers. Sabotaging the plans of chetnik generals Milovanovic and Krstic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army fighters smashed the Chetnik offensive and penetrated deep into the occupied territory toward Zeravica and Vlasenica. Our units have progressed to the line of (Sokoli), [words indistinct], and (Bijela Stijena). All attempts by the Chetniks to recapture the lost territory have been in vain.

Over 100 chetniks were killed in this fighting, 20 of whom were [word indistinct], and the number of the wounded is several times higher. The result of this operation is two tanks, two mobile antiaircraft weapons, two 105-mm howitzers, and one antiaircraft gun destroyed. The chetnik units in this region have been completely smashed, and the volunteers from Serbia are fleeing to where they came from in the first place.

Civilians Panic as Tuzla Shelled

AU1605161094 Paris AFP in English 1554 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpts] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, May 16 (AFP)—Two heavy artillery shells hit a residential area of the mainly Moslem industrial town of Tuzla on Monday [16 May], causing panic as residents fled the streets, witnesses said. [passage omitted] The shells crashed in mid-afternoon not far from the town's hotel, which had been hit Sunday night by a large-calibre shell, and left two craters in a children's play area. Residents of the town immediately fled the streets, bathed in early summer sunshine, to take shelter, dragging their children away from play. No injuries were reported. It was the third day in succession the northeastern Bosnian town had been shelled, apparently from Serb positions some four kilometres (2.5 miles) to the north east. Last Wednesday two people were killed and four injured in two waves of shelling, prompting local authorities to close schools. A decision was to be made later Monday on when to reopen them. [passage omitted]

Rose Dissatisfied With Movement in Mostar

LD1605182994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpt] After a tour of Mostar today, General Michael Rose, the commander of the peacekeeping forces for Bosnia-Herzegovina, said he was dissatisfied with what had been done to enable the civilians to cross freely from one part of town to the other. It is easier for civilians to cross from one part of Sarajevo to the other than from the eastern to the western part of Mostar and vice versa, Rose said, adding that the freedom to cross from one part of Mostar to the other was like the freedom to cross from East to West Berlin during the Cold War. In his talks with representatives of civilian and military authorities of the western part of Mostar, he said that much more had been done in central Bosnia to implement the Washington agreement, and in particular to provide free movement of civilians.

Representatives of authorities of western Mostar said it was better to normalize life in Mostar slowly but surely, than hurry and make quite possible mistakes, which could reverse the peace process back to the starting point. What has been done so far to completely end the fighting is a lot for Mostar, representatives of Croatian authorities said, adding that the latest Croat-Bosniak political agreements would certainly stimulate the normalization of life in Mostar. [passage omitted]

Patriarch To Meet Religious Leaders in Sarajevo

AU1605180394 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Kyril, the metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church, who is accompanying Patriarch Aleksey II on his visit to the Serbian Orthodox Church, said at the Patriarchy last night that Zagreb's Cardinal Franjo

Kuharic and the Bosnian [Muslim] Reis ul-Ulema Mustafa Ceric had accepted the invitation by the Russian and Serbian patriarchs to meet in Sarajevo and talk about peace. According to Metropolitan Kyril, the meeting of the four religious leaders should take place at Sarajevo airport tomorrow.

Patriarchs To Meet Karadzic

AU1705091894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 17 May 94

[Text] Patriarch Aleksiy of Moscow and all of Russia and Serbian Patriarch Pavle are going to visit the republic of Srpska, where they will visit the seat of the Davro-Bosnian metropolitan in Sokolac and talk to Metropolitan Nikolaj. The ecclesiastical dignitaries will hold talks in Pale with the leadership of the republic of Srpska, including President Radovan Karadzic. A visit with Russian members of the UN Protection Force in the Sarajevo Serbian settlement of Grbavica is scheduled to take place afterwards. The Russian and Serbian patriarchs are supposed to meet with Zagreb Cardinal Franjo Kuharic and Reis-ul-Ulema Mustafa Ceric at Sarajevo airport. It is planned that Patriarchs Aleksiy II and Pavle, together with Russian and Serbian bishops, will bless the land on which the Serbian Orthodox Church will be built.

Presidency Member Condemns Arms Embargo

AU1605152894 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 94 pp 4,5

[Interview with Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, by Senka Kurtovic; place and date not given: "Embargo on Life"]

[Text] We began the interview with Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, by asking him about politics.

[Ganic] They say that politics is mostly the sport of older people. They have the experience, they are realistic and patient enough. Younger politicians are good for winning battles, duels. Take the politics of the United States, its foreign policy in particular. You will see that it was mostly older politicians who made wise moves. Small countries need that kind of wisdom even more.

[Kurtovic] Did we have enough of that wisdom?

[Ganic] It was very difficult to have any kind of politics at the beginning of the war, when there was almost no Bosnian politics to speak of. Only the Bosniaks had some kind of program that reflected the moves of that politics. There was quite a lot of Yugoslav politics. One year before the war broke out, we abounded in ideas about how to preserve Yugoslavia. However, other republics did not even dream about that. We were trying to formulate some ideas about preserving Yugoslavia. Milosevic wanted to turn Yugoslavia into some kind of greater Serbia, we know what others wanted.... Later on, however, that politics boiled down to defending the country, the Bosniaks were trying to expand at the political scene. It is too early to say whether they succeeded in that. However, some people in this country are too selfish. They went away, kept aside, and looked after their own interests.

[Kurtovic] You have recently returned from the United States. Considering their concessions at a time crucial for Bosnia-Herzegovina, do you think that the United States has two kinds of politics for Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ganic] President Clinton and Vice President Gore are young people dealing with a serious challenge for the first time. It was by design that Bush would not do anything for Bosnia-Herzegovina. He had a relatively good rating owing to the successfully-ended Gulf crisis and Bosnia-Herzegovina was just another unnecessary risk for him. It is still not too late for Clinton, but that confirms my thesis that politics should be managed by older people. More experienced people would know that fascism and aggression cannot be stopped on a voluntary basis. There is not a single case in the history of international diplomacy of an aggressor willingly giving up its military advantage in negotiations. Speaking about just peace—and we are faced with a mighty military machinery of our aggressor and with an arms embargo against us—we cannot expect a just peace. Older (wiser) politicians would solve this problem immediately. In my opinion, the politics of the United States is not ambiguous but undetermined, which is again typical of young politicians. There is one thing, however, that is good for the United States: dodging, in the sense that Bosnia is a European problem and must be solved by Europe. They had two years to eliminate the problem and did nothing, so now we will get involved. Therefore, the United States is provided with an argument in favor of more active involvement....

[Kurtovic] What is really the goal of that indecisive politics?

[Ganic] Vice President Gore told me that the politics of the United States is designed to bring peace to Bosnia, peace that has to be acceptable to the legal authorities. I agree with that, but we want a peace that will be a just solution for us. In my opinion, the involvement of the United States is much greater now.

[Kurtovic] What prompted the more active involvement?

[Ganic] My impression is that Gorazde was the turning point, for the 720 people who were killed there indirectly saved other enclaves. The United States knows that Karadzic's and Milosevic's Serbs (for I cannot blame the entire nation) lie and that they will try to outwit 30 to 50 percent of the ultimatums. The problem is that the European leaders are dwarfs, historically speaking.

[Kurtovic] What about the United Nations, what is its role?

[Ganic] The United Nations organization is lead by people who have no experience in political management and no refined sense for human rights and liberties. I told Butrus-Ghali he reminds me of a manager who has ruined a company. I told him he was responsible for Gorazde, that the catastrophe happened - - because of his lack of determination and because he had destroyed all the mechanisms—not only for Bosnia, but for all small countries that counted on the so called UN shield. Butrus-Ghali told me he could do nothing. We talked for about an hour and a half and I think the conversation will stick in the memories of both of us as very unpleasant. Rumor has it that the United States is hiding behind the UN, behind Butrus-Ghali, who runs a house that is not functioning. The United States says it is in favor of lifting the embargo, but the United Naitons, i.e. Russia, can impose a veto.

[Kurtovic] What are, actually, U.S. and Russian views about Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ganic] I think that their views are alike regarding Bosnia, in the sense that they both agree about the integrity of the country. There is, however, an underlying Russian variant - - the Serbs should be given a large part and the Bosniaks have already made an agreement with the Croats and they will get the rest. However, that still presents a division. Our agreement with the Croats is extremely important and it is in the interests of both sides. I told the Americans that the constitution they wrote for us is of extreme importance, especially if it is applied on the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina territory. Together with the Russians, the United States must put pressure on the Belgrade regime to accept it.

[Kurtovic] Akashi also advocates the policy of compromise. In your opinion, is he a representative of Japanese politics or just a "player" for key countries in the UN?

[Ganic] I do not think he is a particular representative of Japanese politics. Akashi made some big mistakes and his responsibility is documented. He prevented air strikes on positions from which the Serbs were shelling Gorazde for an entire day during the ultimatum. At least 28 people were killed and more than a hundred were wounded. That is direct responsibility and Akashi could have prevented it. He himself did a lot to discredit his political career. Even in his own country. He is directly responsible, for people were killed as a result of his non-action.

[Kurtovic] What is the influence of the Islamic countries on the United Nations and the United States?

[Ganic] Perhaps we help Islamic countries more then they help us. Our problem seems to have united them for the first time. Before, each of them had their own views. They were not homogenous enough, not unanimous. They can help us rebuild the country, the market, create jobs, and in establishing good relations, which is very important. If Islamic countries were more homogenous, they could jeopardize the national interest of the West and dictate the solution for Bosnia to a large extent. Generally speaking, that is a very slow mechanism. They seem to be more and more involved.

[Kurtovic] Could the Islamic countries have used an oil embargo to force the West to act more decisively?

[Ganic] That embargo would be most harmful for the United States and Japan. However, these are major decisions, and they are not prepared to make them, at least for the time being. They built a nice unity on the tragedy of Bosnia. Many Islamic countries were not even aware that there are Bosniaks-Muslims living in Bosnia.

[Kurtovic] Who is the main obstacle to lifting the arms embargo in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ganic] It is probably not very likely that the embargo will be lifted in its entirety in the near future. When I was in the United States, I made it clear that we want limited quantities of defensive weapons. We do not demand tanks but antitank shells, we do not demand airplanes, helicopters, just guns. We do not want to win this war but to survive. We cannot use the word victory, for we have already been defeated by the international community. Their view on human rights does not allow us to talk about victory. We discovered darkness and we were hoping to wake up to the light. In a nutshell, if you are intent on having names, Britain is most opposed to lifting the embargo. It is the mouthpiece of such ideas. We know about the Russians, however. There are solutions that would force them to make some concessions. If we only had at least one antitank shell for every tank that attacked us, we would have stopped the war. However, they did not let us defend ourselves. They deprived us of the right to defend ourselves.

[Kurtovic] Lately, on the occasion of the events in Gorazde, we have often heard the public blaming generals of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. What do you think about that?

[Ganic] In every group of people of the same profession, just a few meet the essential criteria. We say: there are all kinds of weeds in God's garden. Our generals also range from bad to the best. The process of forming the army was a painstaking one and we must occasionally make some personnel changes, especially among its leadership, in order to create competition. One must not forget that we are still at war against an army with a very developed logistics, weapons, positions, an army of more than 50 years in the making. Naturally, every criticism is welcome, but it should not be destructive, it should only serve as a warning for the future. That became a topic which should be reduced to some reasonable limits. There are many unknown heroes and we must remember that. This should teach the generals a lesson in what people understand best. Be where the action is—that is a message, not a topic for discussion.

[Kurtovic] We more often hear that minor fighting for Bosnia-Herzegovina creates major fighting for power. Can you comment on that?

[Ganic] With a few honorable exceptions, Bosnia is defended by poor people. And there are two kinds of authority in Bosnia—those who were elected and those who joined them during the war. Whether we want it or not, we will be forced to send some people back. That will create a much stronger competition. Perhaps that is why some want to seize power today, for it will be more difficult to do it tomorrow. This will be a complex country. We more or less know, even now, what and how much one can do. However, our people are much smarter and we all understand what happened in this war. When the time comes, when those who are less courageous and more competent come, we will welcome them.

[Kurtovic] You were recently appointed vice president of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action]. Since when have you been a member?

[Ganic] I thought you knew that those two dates overlap (laughter). But there is more to this. I was overcome by the desire to help the Bosniaks as much as I can. According to a theory of my predecessors, the Ganics like many other Bosniak families were expelled from Bosnia. The circle is now complete—now I return to Bosnia and my son will be born here. These are difficult times for the Bosniaks. They were abandoned by many, but the Bosniaks proved to be noble gentlemen. I felt I had political followers and the SDA leadership sometimes asked for my advice and opinion. I built my political views. However, I had offers from other political parties, perhaps for even better positions. I decided to join the SDA, for I think that my presence can make it a stronger party, not so much now, as after the war. Now most people are fighting on the front lines. On the other hand, we will have a different political system and all activities will go through parties. All those reasons influenced this decision of mine.

[Box, p 4]

Even With the Serbs

A federation is a quite decentralized state. It will even allow the Serbs to be on their own. They can have a Serb flag in every room. And let them have it. But we will not let them divide the country and take what does not belong to them. We were asked whether we could live with the Serbs. We will live together in some areas, somewhere as neighbors, somewhere under the surveillance of the international community on the basis of some rights. Serb fascism, as did other fascisms, will come to an end.

[Box, p 5]

Helicopter and Morality

One UN soldier was wounded in Gorazde and he was picked up by a helicopter around which hundreds of mothers carrying blood-covered, wounded children gathered. They begged to get their children in the helicopter, for that was the only possible help. No! The helicopter was sent out to pick up only that soldier. The United Nations was unrelenting. You all heard the mayor of Gorazde, Ismet Briga, who begged NATO to bomb the inhabitants of Gorazde to end their suffering. That is the result of the embargo and of the moral quality of that action.

Serbian Leader Sees No Room for Compromise

AU1605153294 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 94 pp 20, 21

[Interview with Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the republic of Srpska, by Branka Andjelkovic in Belgrade; date not given: "Woman in the Middle of the Road"]

[Text] For some people she is "the Serbian empress," for others "the biggest mistake the Serbian leadership has ever made." Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the republic of Srpska, does not want to give up radicalism. "We are not in a position to make compromises," she says. "If people's vital interests are at stake, my attitudes are not radical in the negative sense of the word." Mrs. Plavsic has no intention of withdrawing many of her statements, which in the Serbian Republic are often considered negative, because—as she says—the problem lies "only in their interpretation." We talked with Mrs. Plavsic in her office in the "Bosanka" residence.

[Andjelkovic] In the view of many people the crisis around Gorazde and the NATO involvement marked the beginning of a new attitude of the West toward the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. How would you assess the new political situation as far as the Serbian side is concerned?

[Plavsic] If Serbs are not obedient there will be bombardments again. This will happen if we do not do what they want, according to Western criteria. We were told this very clearly by the latest ultimatum. Since we agreed with these rules of the game by agreeing to withdraw our weapons from the Sarajevo front it is too late now. The West explained the attack on Gorazde with the fact that Gorazde was a safe haven, but this is senseless, because the United Nations has not done anything to protect the safe havens in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They were not demilitarized, the Muslim army was supplied with weapons without any control, the UN Protection Force even helped them. This means that the West did not have any justification for that attack. If there is any new ultimatum for other unprotected areas, we should refuse all compromises.

[Andjelkovic] Do you believe NATO will get involved in events in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the future, too?

[Plavsic] This time it looked like the United States had not made a mistake by not giving in to 1,300,000 Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We really gave them a chance to show to their people that their threats were effective. If they continue to use threats for protected and unprotected areas, it is quite clear what should happen. It has been clear for a long time already what should be done,

but there are people who do not seem to know this. We shall certainly be bombed, sooner or later. The West does not know, however, that the Serbian people in the war regions are already completely resistant to threats. They do not respond to them any longer, and when you ask them about bombardments, the only thing they say is: "They should start at last, let them drop these bombs!" A threat that is repeated again and again loses its impact with time. I can say only one thing: They do not know the mentality of the Serbian people at all. The Serbs cannot be scared.

[Andjelkovic] Was the action in Gorazde necessary, however? Do you not think that the negotiating process would be different had there been no Gorazde crisis?

[Plavsic] It was Gorazde's turn after Sarajevo. Had there been no crisis in Gorazde, there would have been something else, we can expect continuous pressure. The West has now asked for a four-month cease-fire. Let me remind you that [Bosnian President] Alija Izetbegovic asked for the same thing before, and you know why. He wants to strengthen his army in these four months, he does not need these four months in order to reach peace. Anyway, let us assume that they need four months to carry out political negotiations, to reach some kind of peace, some kind of agreement. If we show resistance during these negotiations, they will use threats again, but we must not respond to them. We shall certainly find ourselves in the situation in which we shall simply have to do our job, no matter what kind of threats they make.

[Andjelkovic] Where is this leading to?

[Plavsic] Nobody wants to realize that there is a war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is a very special war, but it is still a war. There is the attacking warring faction and the other which defends itself, and I want to repeat that we were attacked by the Croatian-Muslim coalition. Our lives, the existence of our people were at stake. In every war there must be one party that loses and one that wins. Whenever it is said that it must not be mentioned that somebody has won this war, this goes beyond common sense. How can an army be stimulated to defend itself if it is forbidden to win. There is no logic in it!

[Andjelkovic] If NATO becomes involved in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it could easily happen that the Serbs lose according to the war theory you have just explained to me.

[Plavsic] It is very difficult to make predictions. If we are isolated, it does not mean that we have to lose. I think that Vietnam was a big loss for the United States, and this is not the only example. We have always known why we are fighting, we have always defended ourselves, we have always seemed to be in somebody's way, as if we had built a house in the middle of the road. You fight in a completely different way if you know that you will not exist unless you defend yourself. This is the best possible motive. Apart from that, there is a great sense of responsibility in the United States for every human life lost without good reason. If 10 U.S. soldiers had lost their lives in our territory, Clinton would be endangered, especially because he is already under pressure because of the latest scandal in the United States.

[Andjelkovic] What is the present attitude of the republic of Srpska's leadership—does it support war or peace?

[Plavsic] Since the London conference we have been searching for a solution to achieve peace. We want to achieve peace, but not at any price. We do not want peace if it means that we have to give up territory, we do not want peace if the dignity of the Serbian people is lost, we cannot do this. Peace can only be achieved if the three sides sit down at the negotiating table and start negotiating. It cannot be negotiated, however, as long as there is no peace.

[Andjelkovic] What is your attitude then?

[Plavsic] Peace, peace, and peace! We are offering peace, which should be followed by negotiations.

[Andjelkovic] Do not you think that because of Gorazde you are farther away from peace now than before?

[Plavsic] I do not think we have lost anything. We even won something at Gorazde. Our civilian population that fled in August 1992 are now returning to their homes in Gorazde. The United Nations said that the Serbian army had to withdraw to a 3-km ring around Gorazde, so that civilians are protected now. If they protect the Muslims, they have to protect the Serbs, too. Whatever is good for these people who returned to their homes in Gorazde, since Gorazde belongs to them, is good for us, too. This makes us hope that peace can be achieved.

[Andjelkovic] Yes, but without Russian help, it seems. What was the reason for [Russian envoy Vitaliy] Churkin's sharp words to the Serbs? Is it perhaps your statement that the reason for such a large number of Serbian planes in the air was an air show?

[Plavsic] I am afraid that I shall be too severe as far as Churkin is concerned. It has been clear to me since the very beginning that Churkin is a man who has only one task, which was assigned to him not by Russia, but probably by the United States. We have been very cautious toward Churkin from the beginning, and it is good that the Serbs have not given him their confidence. We have learned in this war that there no are historical friendships, as for example with France or Russia, there are only interests. The present Russian politics is directly linked to the money Russia recently got from the West. If this sum is distributed to the Russian population, it means that every Russian citizen got $5. It is horrible to lose the dignity of the largest Slavic state and people for only $5! Such things happen, though. The Serbs are the strongest when they are alone, and now we are really alone.

Yuliy Vorontsov [Russian permanent representative to the United Nations] had been very firm in his attitude that the Serbs should not be bombarded, but after Russia

received financial help he said that the NATO ultimatum could be used as a threat to the Serbs. There is no reason why Churkin should say that the Serbs lie, that they say one thing today, and another tomorrow. We are shocked and astonished! It is clear that a politician can be shrewd and use even lies. Every politician acts like that. [Secretary of State Warren] Christopher says one thing in the morning, and a completely different thing in the evening. Why does Churkin blame us even if what he said is true? If you take a look at the political line drawn by Serbian politicians, you can say that it is very consistent and clear. How could we deceive Mr. Churkin that much in one night and two days he spent with us? As if he were a saint and can therefore be shocked! All this is very transparent.

[Andjelkovic] Were there differences during the latest meeting between [UN special envoy] Akashi, [Serbian President] Milosevic and [republic of Srpska president] Karadzic regarding the relations between the Serbian president and the president of the republic of Srspka?

[Plavsic] I do not think that there were any differences in the basic attitude. There have been permanent consultations between the leadership of the republic of Srpska and the Serbian leadership, but no decisions have been taken. I would like to point out that it is only the republic of Srpska that can decide. The Jahorina assembly proved the same thing when the Vance-Owen plan had to be decided on. Consultations had preceded it, but the final decision was taken by parliament, or better said, in a referendum. It was opposite to the attitude of the Serbian leadership.

[Andjelkovic] There are rumors about your disagreement with Milosevic?

[Plavsic] It is clear that my attitudes, which are purely Serbian national attitudes, cannot comply with Milosevic's attitudes. He has one pedigree, I have a different one. I can listen to his arguments, I communicate well with people who have a different opinion from mine, but it seems that others cannot communicate with me because I have a different opinion. I disagreed with the previous regime, the biggest problem was that you had to think in the same way as everybody else. That regime deprived the people of the possibility to express their opinion openly. Somebody who supported things like that must be completely different from me. Therefore I cannot think like Mr. Milosevic. He is Milosevic, and I am Biljana Plavsic. It was really a low blow by Milosevic to manipulate my quotation of a statement a wounded soldier made in connection with the Vance-Owen plan in the following way: "There are 12 million Serbs, if 6 million die, the other 6 million will live honestly." It is a shame to manipulate a statement like that. And who is the person who manipulated it!? A president of a state. I really do not know what his interests were.

[Andjelkovic] There have been rumors recently that President Milosevic could betray the Bosnian Serbs. What do you think about it?

[Plavsic] As far as the Serbian national interest is concerned, I do not trust anybody. People have to be asked what they want. Somebody who does not respect parliament and thinks that it is something unimportant.... As far as the vital interests of a nation are concerned, the people who got the mandate have to be controlled all the time because we have already had bad experiences. It is easier for them, too, to share responsibility with parliament and with their people. The referendum is an institution recognized throughout the world. The world recognized the results of the referendum on the Vance-Owen plan.

[NIN] Why have you never been a member of Karadzic's team in international meetings? You have been elected to your duty by the parliament of the republic of Srpska.

[Plavsic] Ask Mr. Karadzic and not me!

[NIN] Do you often visit soldiers on the front?

[Plavsic] The whole of our territory is practically a front. Everybody participates in it; my function requires me to have direct contacts with the people. This enables me to know exactly what our soldiers and what the wounded think. I was told by the soldiers on the Gorazde front some time ago that they were happy to see me participate in the negotiations. They said that they knew that it would not come to any compromises that would harm the Serbs. I have to tell you that I am happy that soldiers have such a good opinion about me.

[NIN] Are you elegant at the front, too?

[Plavsic] I could go to the front right away, I have a pair of sports shoes here so that I can go anywhere.

[Andjelkovic] There has been much speculation about your suitors, among whom Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic has been mentioned, too?

[Plavsic] Regarding my link with Prince Tomislav, you as well as all others must surely know that I am a monarchist and I believe that everything that can bring the Serbs, who are otherwise prone to divisions, together should be very much cherished. Personally, I believe that a monarchy is one of those factors that could preserve the unity of the Serbian people. We are facing a man who belongs to a monarchy that has never, not for a single moment, harmed the Serbian people nor has it threatened the dignity of the Serbs and I respect them all very much. By meeting with Prince Tomislav, who is a son of Aleksandar and a grandson of Petar I, and by expressing my respect toward him, I am in a way paying respect to his ancestors.

[Andjelkovic] However, you are often seen together. At the congress of the Serbian intellectuals you sat next to each other.

[Plavsic] What else could I have done when the organizers asked me—"where will you sit, of course, next to Prince Tomislav I am sure"—and then I sat next to him. Most probably we share similar views on this entire situation.

[Andjelkovic] Therefore, you reject the insinuations that there is something more than friendship between you?

[Plavsic] Well, out of the question! I must tell you immediately that not even friendship, to tell you honestly. Above all, just as none of you would know my age, it is normal that at my age there is no interest in anything of the kind. I only have to carry out this duty of mine, to live to see the Serbian state, and then I will end the political career in which I have ended up as a result of circumstances.

[Andjelkovic] You are well-known for your radical views. Your statement about "the Muslims who are disturbing you" in eastern Bosnia has provoked a considerable reaction at a given moment.

[Plavsic] That Markovic woman [wife of Serbian President Milosevic] used this immediately. She is very capable of manipulating one-sidedly and interpreting other peoples' words in her own way. I do not know what sort of an ambition people have to simply tear what people say out of the context and then interpret these words in their own way. I call such people malicious people. I always try to find something positive, even when it involves such persons, and I always concentrate on this, while she is specifically looking for something bad. I would have been awfully unhappy had I been like this. However, I am quick to forget unpleasant things and even though many have aspirations to cause me harm I bear no ill will against them.

[Andjelkovic] Beside this, there have been numerous negative assessments of your statements and moves in the public?

[Plavsic] If these people with bad intentions knew how nothing can hurt me I think they would stop attacking me. But they truly dislike me. I can be terribly hurt when someone of whom I have a good opinion does something to hurt me. However, I resolve this very quickly, I contact the person and clarify the matter immediately. This is how I resolve my problems. I do not turn to the past at all, and I also pass quickly over certain things that other people would not. I simply do not want to burden myself with this. Precisely because of this I believe that from this point of view I live a very comfortable life.

Koljevic: EU Policy 'More Realistic'

AU1605150894 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 16 May 94 p 4

[Report by M. L.: "The Most Important Thing—End of the War"]

[Text] The European plan for an approach to solving the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is better and more realistic than the United States' plan and it is good that it prevailed at the meeting in Geneva. Of course, there are bound to be problems, but they can be solved. The most important thing is that this plan envisages the cessation of hostilities, which means the continuation of the peace talks, Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serbian republic, told Radio Kragujevac yesterday. Commenting on the declaration of the ministerial council in Geneva, and the proposed division of territory—49 percent for the Serbs, 51 percent for the Muslims and Croats—he said that the Serbian side was ready to correct the borders if functional entities are created, that is, if the quality and quantity of territory are treated equally.

Serbs Discuss Prisoner Exchange With Red Cross

LD1605223594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2205 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Sarajevo, May 16 (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Serb republic (S.R.) in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina met on Monday with an official of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for Bosnia, Andreas Kun, to discuss an exchange of prisoners and the stepping up of the ICRC activities in Pale, the administrative centre of the S.R. Bosnian Serb Vice-President Nikola Koljevic, who headed the delegation, said to reporters that the issue had been discussed into detail, with a very concrete plan and lists of names.

'We believe that talks on this subject are highly important because they will be the first indication in the next few days of whether an agreement on ending hostilities will be signed or not,' said Koljevic.

The foreign ministers of Russia, the United States and the European Union [EU] on Friday called the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina to sign a four-month truce which would give them an opportunity to reach agreement on a territorial division of Bosnia on the basis of the E.U. formula granting 51 percent of the Bosnian territory to the Moslems and Croats, and 49 to the Serbs.

The ICRC official said after the meeting that he expected Bosnia's Moslem-Croat federation on one side and the Bosnian Serbs on the other to show good will in connection with an agreement on the exchange of prisoners. He insisted that visits to prisoners should continue as well as the inspection of condition in which they are held.

Health Minister Dragan Kalinic, who also attended the meeting, said that the Serb side had insisted on getting information about hundreds of Serb prisoners who have been held captive in a silo in the Moslem village of Tarcin in central Bosnia for more than a year. The talks also tackled the question of 16 Serb doctors and medical staff in Sarajevo who were last autumn prevented from being evacuated from the city and whom the Moslem authorities arrested and sentenced to two years in prison because of their alleged refusal to comply with the work obligation, Kalinic said.

Churkin on Withdrawal Deadline for Weapons

LD1605173794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] After visiting Russian troops serving with the UN Protection Forces in Sector East, Russian Ambassador to Croatia Leonid Kerestedziyants told reporters that they discussed the implementation of the Zagreb agreement and agreed that the Croatian Army must withdraw the remaining weapons by 1600 tomorrow and the Serbian side must do the same by 2400 tomorrow.

The Zagreb agreement has to be fully implemented in all protected areas by 2400 tomorrow, the Russian ambassador said. If this does not happen further steps will be taken by both the Russian and U.S. embassies and the European Union, for what has been signed has to be respected. This is not a piece of paper which has been signed and can then be forgotten, he said.

HDZ Condemns Manolic-Mesic Note to Congress

LD1605220294 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Deputies of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] from both chambers of the Croatian Assembly held a session of their club today. These are excerpts of a statement containing the reaction of the HDZ deputies to a letter sent by Josip Manolic and Stipe Mesic, the presidents of the Assembly's chambers of counties and deputies, to the U.S. Congress on 4 May this year.

The HDZ deputies say that this is an unprecedented act in Croatian political history and they therefore unanimously condemn such an unheard-of act. Abusing and usurping their official posts of president of the Croatian Assembly and president of the Chamber of Counties, Stipe Mesic and Josip Manolic, without any consent of the assembly, of their own accord sent the abovementioned letter to members of the U.S. Congress, monstrously slandering their own state institutions in which they were duty-bound to protect the Constitution and laws.

In their condemnation, they go so far as to equate the heroic struggle of defense and liberation by the Croatian people for freedom and independence with the imperialistic, fascist, chetnik, aggressive regime of the greater Serbia of Slobodan Milosevic. By this they even want to suggest that the top Croatian officials should be charged with instigating the aggression.

Despite huge efforts and the successes of the Croatian president and the Croatian Government and assembly in the implementation of the Washington agreement, the creation of the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the historic agreement between the Croats and the Muslims, Manolic and Mesic fraudulently and completely unfoundedly condemn the entire Croatian authorities and state policy of undermining the Washington agreement, and call on the United States to overturn the legitimate Croatian Government and replace it with another government, which would not be an expression of the political will of the Croatian Assembly.

The HDZ deputies in the assembly's Chambers of Deputies and Counties most vehemently condemn the defamation, lies, intrigues, and insinuations by Manolic and Mesic, which may have far-reaching and destructive consequences for the survival of the Croatian state and the freedom of the Croatian people.

Mesic Meets With Bosnian Politicians

AU1605192294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly Chairman Miro Lazovic held talks today in Zagreb with Croatian Assembly Chairman Stipe Mesic. The main topic was how to preserve an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nada al-Isa reports on these talks:

[Begin al-Isa recording] Stipe Mesic listened with pleasure to the information provided him by Messrs. Pejanovic and Lazovic after their return from Moscow, where they went as members of the Serbian Civic Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They stressed that they had held talks in Moscow with Vitaliy Churkin, who said for the first time that Russia, too, wanted to preserve the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He openly said that he no longer trusted Karadzic.

Pejanovic and Lazovic discussed Croatian-Muslim relations, that is, the future federation, with Stipe Mesic. Messrs. Lazovic and Pejanovic addressed the same issues at today's news conference in Zagreb. In order to help improve relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Stipe Mesic accepted the invitation by Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly Chairman Miro Lazovic to visit Sarajevo soon. He will come, he said, as soon as this week's assembly session was over.

As is known, the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] has been announcing that it will seek Mesic's removal at the session. However, Mesic says: I will remain the chairman of the assembly even after the session. They will not manage to remove me, even though they are hoping to. Mesic revealed specially for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina the latest news from the Croatian political scene, which, by the way, has still not been announced in Zagreb. The entire Zagreb county, the largest one in Croatia and politically the most attractive, has left the HDZ and joined Mesic's Party of Independent Croatian Democrats [HND]. Mesic says that, because of that, many HDZ members in Zagreb will not be able to sleep tonight.

Finally, Stipe Mesic told the Sarelians that he will come and visit them very soon, in his position as assembly chairman—he claims—and he does not believe in the rumors that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] is

creating transportation problems from Zagreb to Sarajevo, as some claim in the presidential quarters in Zagreb. [end recording]

Granic Views Bosnian Talks 'Very Positively'

AU1605150994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 May 94

[Interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic by Amir Hodzic in Geneva; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Hodzic] Mr. Granic, how would you assess the agreement between the Bosniak and the Croatian sides in Vienna?

[Granic] Very positively. I believe that this is a key step in the implementation of the Washington Agreement, that is, it is a key step [words indistinct] federation [word indistinct] the Croats on (a fair basis), which will be [word indistinct], and which will be to the mutual interest of both the Bosniaks and the Croats, and the other citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of course, we want this to be a firm federation that will be in a confederal relationship with the Republic of Croatia, and again to mutual benefit and interests. There can be no [words indistinct] confederation, mutual interests. We talked about this a lot, and [word indistinct] the talks with certain agreements [word indistinct]. The primary problem is the problem of the humanitarian convoys, the problem of energy facilities, transportation, refugees, and so on. Of course, this [words indistinct] through better cooperation.

[Hodzic] Do you believe that what has been agreed in Vienna will be successfully implemented on the ground?

[Granic] Well, I am an optimist. Both sides have to make maximum efforts. There will be individual resistance to the agreement, and one has to expect that, but if [words indistinct] then the agreement will be implemented.

[Hodzic] How much does the ministerial meeting in Geneva respect the agreement from Vienna?

[Granic] Well, in any case it is not against the Vienna agreement, and it is primarily directed at the third side, that is, how to get the Serbs to the negotiating table, how to achieve a cease-fire, and how to implement the agreement. As for the main part of it, that is, the territories, [word indistinct], and so on, [word indistinct] is the negotiating position. I heard today that [Bosnian Serb official Momcilo] Krajisnik has said that even 51 percent for the federation is too much. That is their negotiating position. The international community has presented its negotiating position.

[Hodzic] How would you comment on what the ministers here agreed on as far as the solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina situation is concerned?

[Granic] I think it is all right in principle, which means that a (contact) group has been formed to monitor the cease-fire and the negotiations, and that is what Croatia supports.

[Hodzic] Mr. Granic, thank you.

Interior Minister Aide Accused of 'War Crimes'

AU1705082994 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1900 GMT 17 May 94

[Report by Bernhard Lichte]

[Excerpts] Croatia is burning—Serbian conquerors on the march: Vukovar in October 1991; pictures that went around the world. Soldiers had given vent to their fury. The results were mass murders, destruction, and deportation. Vukovar is a synonym for incredible human suffering. The streams of refugees are witnesses and victims of innumerable crimes against humanity.

Tomislav Mercep at that time was responsible for Vukovar. He had been brought to power during the confusions of the founding of the independent state. Today he is an adviser to the Croatian interior minister.

A confidential letter to President Tudjman states that Tomislav Mercep was responsible for attacks on private apartments, looting, torture during interrogations, and even executions. The person who wrote this in August 1991 is the Croatian Government's representative in Vukovar. Who is this Tomislav Mercep? The construction engineer first drew attention to himself with his militant speeches. Anyone who does not want to live in the Croatian homeland can look for a new one tomorrow, he grandly stated in the election campaign in 1990, addressing the Serbian population in eastern Slavonia. Croatia, Croatia, the enthusiastic crowd chanted.

One year later, Mercep formed the first unit of volunteers at the order of Tudjman's party, the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. In Bogdanovci, a small village near Vukovar, he gathers 2,000 men around him, whom he swears to the common cause. It is 10 March 1991, the state of Yugoslavia still exists. The gathering is secret and illegal. Mercep announces that certain equipment is available and will be distributed soon. Then the territorial defense forces have to learn how to use them. Everyone here understands what he means. The arming of the secessionists begins.

Months later it is primarily Mercep's volunteers who fight against the Yugoslav People's Army and are equipped with the powers of a special police force. Subsequently, more and more excesses are committed, for example in Gospic. The masters changed several times in the town at the front line. Serbian troops in December 1991 discover 24 bodies in the orthodox cemetery—executed, hardly buried, some of them charred. It turns out that most of them are Serbs. However, the Croatian public prosecutor of Gospic is

also among the victims—a declared opponent to Tudjman's regime. Only Tomislav Mercep's special units can be the killers. Some of them later boasted that they had killed 150 Serbian snipers in Gospic—this is hardly possible without the knowledge and support of their commander.

The Zagreb mass-circulation paper GLOBUS publicized several other cases. Mercep's death squadrons, the paper's headline stated, had killed a Serbian family in Zagreb and arbitrarily shot people in Pakracka Poljana. UN investigators did find 19 bodies there.

Asked about the accusations, Mercep denies any guilt. But he says:

[Begin Mercep recording, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation] What are 19 dead Serbs compared with what was done to Croats? By the way, if one wages war, one does that to kill as many enemies as possible. After all, one does not go to the front to sell ice cream. [end recording]

As I said before, this man is an adviser to the interior minister, dealing with matters of the rule-of-law state and responsible for the establishment of the police forces.

In the offices of Helsinki Watch in Zagreb, all cases of war crimes are painstakingly collected. For the employees of the organization, this is sometimes a dangerous job. One of them has been shot at. Chairman Cicak has been repeatedly attacked. Publicizing crimes and dealing with one's own guilt is not particularly popular in today's Croatia, since it means to finally pay farewell to the long—perhaps too long—cultivated role of the victim.

[Begin Cicak recording, in English with superimposed German translation] The fact that we were attacked by Serbian aggressors cannot mean that we keep silent about what Croats have done to the Serbian minority in Croatia. Here, too, war crimes have been committed and it is absolutely necessary that Croatia itself punishes them with the means of a rule-of-law state. We must not brush that off to the international community. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Tough words also come from Stipe Mesic, president of the Croatian Parliament. He has recently parted with Tudjman and his party.

[Begin Mesic recording, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation] The rule-of-law state in this Croatia does not work. There is a lot of corruption and Mafia-like connections, even with the highest places of the state. Those who are guilty are not prosecuted, civic rights are in massive danger. [end recording]

Does he believe that things will change in Tudjman's era, that war crimes will be punished?

[Begin Mesic recording] No, absolutely not. There is no chance. [end recording] [passage omitted]

UNPROFOR Commander Views Border Threats

AU1705085894 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 14 May 94 p 15

[Interview with General Brigadier Tryggwe Tellefsen, UNPROFOR commander in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, by Aleksandar Damovski, place and date not given: "NATO Base—A Threat to Peace"]

[Text] The fifth month of Norwegian General Brigadier Tryggwe Tellefsen's command of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] has passed. Unlike his predecessor, Gen. Tellefsen gives the impression of being a real soldier for whom the "Holy Bible" is the performance of his orders. In a steadfast military atmosphere, backed by a framed tourist propaganda advertisement for Macedonia and the horns of a reindeer from his homeland, we had talks with the general.

He is far more retired from the public than his predecessor, but Gen. Tellefsen considers the preventive mission of the UN peacekeeping forces in Macedonia to be a very wise solution. From the discussions he has held with the state authorities of Macedonia, he concluded that they also consider the UNPROFOR presence to be a stabilizing factor in the country.

[Tellefsen] The development of the UN mission so far has been very positive and I am really glad to inform you that the situation in the regions of the borders with Serbia and Albania is calm and stable.

[Damovski] Knowing the Macedonian neighborhood, there are continual scenarios for the spread of the war. Is Macedonia threatened with war from any direction?

[Tellefsen] For the time being, I can see no signs of a possible military threat to Macedonia from the regions under our observation. The challenges and problems we are facing are related to the border with Serbia. Lately, we have noted increased military activity on the Serbian side of the border. The Macedonian authorities have been informed about all that on a timely basis, as well as our Command in Zagreb. We have noted small groups of soldiers of the Serbian Army moving around the Macedonian border region. This is something that worries me.

Stabilizing Factor

[Damovski] In your latest statement for Macedonian Television, you said that there are 140 km of border between Macedonia and Serbia that are disputable. At least for now, both sides, that is the Macedonian authority and the previous UNPROFOR commander for Macedonia have said that only some minor sections of the border with our northern neighbor are disputable. Why do you think that such a great part of the border is disputable?

[Tellefsen] The peacekeeping forces in Macedonia operate on the border in conformity with the border that was agreed as an inter-republic border in the former Yugoslavia in 1945. We started our operation knowing that only a small part of that border was disputable. However, our observations say that, until now, 140 km of the border has been infringed by Serbian soldiers. In that context, I visited Nis [in Serbia] recently, for a second meeting with the Serbian military representatives, in order to ask about the Serbian activities on the border. We had a really fruitful discussion with the Serbian military commander, who told me they were holding military exercises of the reserve staff. According to what he said, the presence of the reserve staff, who do not know the terrain well, was the reason for an increased number of border incidents. Nevertheless, it is clear that those exercises are not meant for any kind of preparations for military activities in Macedonia. Therefore, according to those incidents, it emerges that 140 km of the border are disputable. From my point of view, as well as from the point of view of the Macedonian authorities, there is only a small section of the border that is disputable.

We reported all such border incidents by the Serbian soldiers on time, but our mandate does not give us the right to arrest those soldiers, therefore we only followed them and then we reported in detail to the Macedonian authorities. Of course, the fact that the border line has not been marked represents a problem to my soldiers, too. Our task is to avoid any critical situation on the border. We also agreed that the Serbian commander will inform me about any military activities in the border region on a timely basis.

[Damovski] Did you inform the competent Macedonian bodies about this meeting?

[Tellefsen] Yes, the Macedonian defense minister [Vlado Popovski] was informed about it, before and after the meeting. Perhaps we shall have to meet the Serbian side on other occasions. The military exercises are still under way, and if they do not stop soon I shall go to Nis again to ask about the exercises and about the possibility of establishing telephone contact.

[Damovski] If you agree with the assessment that there is a great difference between the assignments of the peacekeeping forces on the territories of former Yugoslavia, what is your opinion about a change in the UNPROFOR mandate for Macedonia?

[Tellefsen] The ways we operate in Bosnia, Croatia, and Macedonia are based on resolutions. The first resolution implied a traditional peacekeeping mission in Croatia in four zones, then the humanitarian operation in Bosnia followed, and then the preventive assignment, to stop the spread of conflicts to Macedonia. If we are looking for possible successes, I consider that we have learnt a lot from the UN operation in Macedonia. We have learnt that this is perhaps the ideal way of solving the problems.

At the same time, a UN operation in former Yugoslavia without particular mandates would have its advantages—the possibility of moving troops from one area to another, if necessary. For instance, every week, we send military observers from here to Bosnia, depending on the situation.

Our mandate here is to be a stabilizing factor and to demonstrate the presence of UN forces. The presence of the multinational structure of UN soldiers in Macedonia demonstrates to the world and the neighboring countries that the world community wants Macedonia to be independent. Therefore, our stay here represents a great experience for us.

[Damovski] Have the Macedonian Government or UNPROFOR Command proposed a change to the mandate of the peacekeeping forces in Macedonia?

[Tellefsen] We are holding continual discussions about the mandate, particularly before the end of the six months' period of the agreement with the country. The last time was in March when we extended the mandate of 1 April in conformity with the situation in Macedonia—by Article 12 of Resolution 908, Mr. Akashi has the authority to use his "good services to contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability in this republic." This is a somewhat broader than the operation of the military forces on the borders with Serbia and Albania. From my meetings with representatives of the Macedonian authorities, I can conclude that their opinion is that the mandate should remain unchanged.

I Do Not See a Threat From Greece

[Damovski] We have heard several requests by the Democratic Party of the Serbs in Macedonia for the arrival of Russian soldiers within the framework of the UN forces in Macedonia. What is your opinion about this request?

[Tellefsen] According to the present UNPROFOR mandate in Macedonia, the present number of troops is quite sufficient. The combination of the troops from the Nordic countries together with the U.S. contingent, from what is probably the most powerful military force in the world today, is really good. I do not find it necessary to change the configuration of the UN force.

[Damovski] The same party recently released some "confidential information" about the arrival of 2,000 Turkish troops in Macedonia, again under the command of the United Nations!?

[Tellefsen] Nobody has discussed that with me. I have no information about that.

[Damovski] I can conclude that, for you, it is very important to maintain the multinational structure of the blue helmets in Macedonia. Yet, after the arrival of 500 U.S. troops, that structure has been quite disturbed.

[Tellefsen] That proportion has been now balanced—we have around 500 U.S. troops and the same number of soldiers from the Scandinavian countries. We should maintain that proportion.

[Damovski] Are there any problems with the U.S. troops in the coordination and command?

[Tellefsen] No. I am impressed with the way the U.S. troops succeeded in fully accomplishing the UN peacekeeping mission. Usually, a soldier is trained for work in war conditions. However, it is even a greater challenge for each soldier to operate in a peacekeeping mission.

[Damovski] With the arrival of the U.S. troops there were rumors about the establishment of a NATO base in Macedonia. The great size of the U.S. military delegations just heated these stories. Is there any truth in these rumors?

[Tellefsen] As far as I know—no. After taking over the command in Macedonia, I have had meetings with quite a number of U.S. delegations. We never mentioned such a possibility during those discussions.

[Damovski] Do you find it necessary to construct a NATO base in Macedonia?

[Tellefsen] Knowing the situation here—no. Tension should be decreased here, not increased.

[Damovski] Does it mean that, in your opinion, the establishment of a NATO base in Macedonia would increase tension in the region?

[Tellefsen] In the present situation—yes.

[Damovski] Why?

[Tellefsen] Aware of the fact that the 250 km of the border with Serbia is related to a state that does not recognize Macedonia, the construction of a NATO military base here could be taken as a threat. We know that the Macedonian military forces are not capable of facing the Serbian military.... Therefore, I think that it would not be a wise action. As far as I know, the Macedonian authorities are directed toward the CSCE and to Macedonia's membership in the European structures.

[Damovski] Macedonia has not been recognized by Greece yet. Does it mean that military threats can be also expected from that side? Have you ever viewed the possibility of shifting a number of your soldiers to the Macedonian-Greek border?

[Tellefsen] No. I see no military threat from Greece. So far, there have not been any discussions about shifting the peacekeeping forces to that part of the border. I see the problem with Greece as an economic problem and a problem related to the name and flag. Such problems should be solved by diplomats and politicians, not by soldiers.

[Damovski] Here is a hypothetical question. If Macedonia is attacked militarily, what will your orders to your soldiers be?

[Tellefsen] If I am the commander in such a situation, I would like to see another kind of UN military forces. However, today we are a tiny blue line drawn alone the border region with Serbia and Albania. We are here to observe and inform, not to arrest, fight, or defend the borders of Macedonia. If we are faced with such a situation, then some other UN military forces will be present here. I cannot see anybody preparing to attack

Macedonia. If there are such preparations, there will be many signs of that. However, for the moment, there are no such signals. Any attack against Macedonia would also mean killing soldiers from Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, the United States, and from 25 other nations.... Everybody should take that fact into account!

Turkish Party Protests Treatment of Minority

AU1605200194 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 16 May 94

[Unattributed report: "Turks Without Representative in Constitutional Court"]

[Text] Referring to the fact that no judge in the Macedonian Constitutional Court is of Turkish origin, the Democratic Party of Turks in Macedonian [FYROM—Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] issued a public protest and condemn of the politics of double standards. Although the Turks present a constitutive and constructive element of Macedonia's statehood, this act is a repeated attempt to leave this minority at the margins of the political life in the country, the party announcement says. Such behavior results in distrust for the government bodies and institutions. The announcement concludes this kind of democracy leads nowhere.

Peterle Rounds Up Results of U.S. Visit

AU1605164194 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpts] During a morning news conference, Slovene Foreign Minister Peterle summarized the main characteristics of his recent visits to Uruguay, Argentina, the United States, and the Czech Republic. Zvone Zorko reports:

[Begin Zorko recording] Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle at today's news conference could not say anything essentially new since we have reported extensively about his visits and meetings with the statesmen and economists in these states from the location itself. [passage omitted] We can expect a visit of the Slovene prime minister to Argentina this year already, while Argentine Prime Minister Menem will visit Slovenia next year.

Regarding Peterle's visit to the United States, let us single out the assessment of the economic experts that it would be possible to double the scope of trade between the two countires in the near future and the assurance by U.S. Secretary of State Christopher that the United States will even in the future continue to pay appropriate attention to Slovenia and the entire Central Europe. Regarding the arms embargo, Minister Peterle said that the U.S. secretary of state had acknowledged the new arguments, especially the one that because of the embargo Slovenia cannot import commercial explosives, urgently needed in the planned construction of highways. Regarding succession, the United States remains firm in its stand that the FRY cannot be the sole successor of the former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Minister Peterle was not willing to answer questions concerning relations with Italy. He merely said that the Slovene Government still does not have an official standpoint from the Italian Government and that it will take its own stance once the new Italian policy in this department is defined. [end recording]

Federal

Jovanovic Says NATO 'Violated' Airspace

LD1605183994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1814 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] New York, May 16 (TANJUG)—NATO planes are ignoring earlier warnings and continue provoking and violating the Yugoslav air space, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said in a letter to the U.N. secretary general. A NATO reconaissance plane and a bomber violated the Yugoslav air space on April 24 in the region of the Perucanlake, western part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, while similar incidents have become an increasing practice, Jovanovic said in the letter which was published as an official U.N. document on Monday. Jovanovic also warned that NATO aircraft frequently break the sound barrier over the rural regions of the Bosnian Serb republic (RS) in order to frighten the local population.

According to the Yugoslav foreign minister, these incidents are the more concerning because the United Nations failed to react to earlier Yugoslav warnings and take corresponding steps with the NATO command. The continuing provocations and violations of the Yugoslav air space pose a serious threat to peace and security in the entire region the flagrant violation [words indistinct] territorial integrity and sovereignty and a direct threat to the peace process which aims to halt the war in the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina, Jovanovic said.

I call on you once again to take the corresponding steps within the U.N. and in the NATO command to end the dangerous provocations, he said.

In October 1992 the U.N. Security Council adopted a resolution imposing a no-fly zone over Bosnia. Its implementation is monitored by the NATO air force.

Lilic Welcomes Russian Patriarch's Visit

LD1605205294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2014 GMT 16 May 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic said on Monday that the visit of Russian Patriarch Aleksiy II to the people of Serbia and Montenegro was "a great contribution to the efforts being invested for peace and harmony in the lands of former Yugoslavia...which has been Yugoslavia's policy from the start." Lilic was speaking in a meeting with the visiting pontiff of the Russian church, Patriarch Aleksiy II, and his host, Patriarch Pavle of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Patriarch Aleksiy II said this was a difficult time for both Russia and Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) and said it was his dearest wish—in his capacity as emissary of the Russian Orthodox Church—to witness a reconciliation among the nations living in the former Yugoslav lands. He explained that his main task on this visit was to put into practice an initiative, moved jointly with Patriarch Pavle, to effect a meeting with the leaders of the Croatian Roman Catholic community and the Bosnian Islamic community—Cardinal Franjo Kuharic and Reis ul-Ulema Mustafa Ceric, respectively—in an effort to show the people that conflicts should be dealt with through talks, not war.

President Lilic said that the two churches had every spiritual and moral right to embark on such a mission, and described Effendi Ceric's refusal to take part in such a meeting at this time as proof that the Moslems are still committed to the war option for settling the dispute in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Experience teaches us that, whatever compromises the Bosnian Serbs might make, the Moslems invariably upset all agreements and stage-manage incidents at crucial times, in which they kill innocent civilians," Lilic said. He added that the Moslems' chief objective was to keep up the campaign of satanising the entire Serbian nation in the global media, to which the Russian patriarch added that not even the Russian media had painted an objective picture of the position of the Serbs.

Patriarch Aleksiy II said the Russian church and people believed that sanctions against Yugoslavia were unjust and should be lifted, a position that had been supported by the State Duma (parliament lower house), which had asked that Russia lift the blockade of Yugoslavia.

The United Nations imposed draconian sanctions on Yugoslavia in May 1992, because of the country's alleged involvement in the civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina. President Lilic said it was clear to the whole world that the sanctions had missed their target, and that the Bosnian war could be ended only if all Bosnia's warring nations—Moslems, Serbs and Croats—were treated equally, i.e. if the Serbs, too, were given the right to self-determination, just as the other Yugoslav nations.

Brotherly nations, such as the Montenegrins, Serbs and Russians, must be united on the basic questions of nation and state, said Lilic and added that these nations "should do their all to cherish their tradition, their spiritual orthodox culture, by living in peace and harmony with the other nations and confessions, as is the case in Yugoslavia where the 50 religious communities practice their religious affairs unhindered."

Serbia

Milosevic Praises Russian Patriarch's Visit

LD1605160194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1403 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic told reporters today that the visit by Russian Patriarch Aleksiy II is a "moral, brave, and

peacemaking gesture and a sign of support for the Serb people." Official talks between the Russian and Serbian patriarchs and President Milosevic lasted for about an hour, after which a luncheon was given in honor of the respected guest from Russia.

After that the Serbian president told reporters: "Let me express my great satisfaction on behalf of citizens of our country and on my own behalf that we have had the opportunity to welcome Aleksiy II, head of the Russian Orthodox Church and patriarch of Moscow and all Russia. "We interpret this visit as a symbol of his efforts to have peace prevail in this area, a sign of great solidarity with our people who are experiencing great difficulties, and a sign of goodwill and resolve to find the best possible solution for the big crisis in the area," Milosevic said.

Recalling that the friendship between the Serb and Russian peoples has historic traditions, President Milosevic stressed: "We do not live in history, we live in the present time and for the sake of the present time we highly respect this moral, brave, and peacemaking gesture by the Russian patriarch—his visit to our country."

Patriarch Aleksiy expressed satisfaction with the warm welcome in the "fraternal Serbian state." He said: "We are deeply grateful to the Serb people who are warmly receiving us, as representatives of Russia, wherever we go. This is a fraternal visit, but at this time we cannot remain indifferent to the bloodshed and suffering of the innocent people in the area," the patriarch said. "We will be happy if we succeed in making a contribution toward achieving peace in the area," he said, and expressed his gratitude to President Milosevic for the cordial reception and "for enabling us to hold joint talks about all key isses which are troubling this area."

Patriarch Aleksiy stressed that the visit is to continue and the bishop of Backa, Irinej, has specified that a trip to Sokolac and Sarajevo is planned for tomorrow, when the Serbian and Russian patriarchs are expected to meet Cardinal Franjo Kuharic and Reis ul-Ulema Mustafa Ceric.

To a journalist's remark that Sarajevo Radio has reported that Mustafa Ceric refused to meet [Serbian] Patriarch Pavle, Bishop Irinej said the meeting has been officially confirmed, and the Serbian church is not taking media reports as an official refusal.

After a meeting in the afternoon with Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic, the guest from Russia will visit Sremski Karlovci and Novi Sad.

Patriarch Aleksiy is expected to visit Sokolac and Sarajevo tomorrow.

Patriarch Discusses Meeting

AU1605180294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has received Russian Patriarch Aleksiy II and Serbian Patriarch Pavle with members of the high church delegations of the Russian and Serbian Orthodox Churches. After the talks which were held behind closed doors for one hour, Slobodan Milosevic and Russian Patriarch Aleksey II addressed the journalists:

[Begin recording] [Milosevic] Let me express great pleasure on behalf of citizens of our country and on my own behalf for having an opportunity to welcome the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, the patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, Mr. Aleksiy II who paid this visit that we interpret as a sign of his effort toward the establishment and victory of peace in these regions, as a sign of great solidarity with our people in the times of it being in great difficulties, and a sign of good will and readiness to help solve in the best way the great crisis that is burdening these territories at the moment.

[Aleksey II, in Russian followed by passage-by-passage translation into Serbo-Croatian] At the same time, we cannot remain indifferent to what is happening in the region. I mean the victims and bloodshed and the misfortune that the peoples in this region are exposed to.

If we manage to make some sort of [word indistinct] contribution toward strengthening peace in this region, we shall be deeply satisfied with this contribution of ours.

We are grateful to His Excellency President Milosevic for a warm reception and for the possibility to exchange opinions on [word indistinct] issues that are occurring at the moment [words indistinct] Serbian people. [end recording]

Owen, Stoltenberg To Meet With Milosevic

LD1705110094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 17 May 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 17 May (TANJUG)—David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, arrived in Belgrade this morning. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is expected to receive them immediately after their arrival. In the course of their talks with Milosevic the cochairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia are expected to discuss the latest agreement reached by the Russian, U.S., and EU foreign ministers on solving the Bosnian conflict. [passage omitted]

Further on Churkin's Talks With Milosevic

LD1605120894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1105 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG)—According to Churkin there are many problems in the implementation

of the Geneva talks. One of them is how to bring the parties in the conflict fully to agree to what the foreign ministers of the United States, Russia, and the European Union [EU] proposed in Geneva.

Asked what response he received from Milosevic today, Churkin said: "Mr. Milosevic and Belgrade strongly support the decision to bring an end to hostilities. As regards the concept of the Bosnia-Herzegovina union and the territorial division—this is left to the Bosnian Serbs to pass their judgement. I hope, for two reasons, that their position will be positive—because the percentage of the territorial division (51:49 per cent) is not negotiable, and this is valid for all sides in the conflict, not only the Serbs, and because this agreement is in the interest of both the Serbs and the Muslims and Croats in Bosnia."

As expected, the sanctions were discussed at the talks today. Churkin said that he "explained to President Milosevic the paragraph referring to the sanctions from the final document of the ministerial meeting."

"This paragraph opens very good possibilities for the Serbian side. The key members of the international community—Russia, the United States, and the EU—said jointly for the first time that the realization of the Geneva agreement would bring about a gradual lifting of the sanctions. I believe this is a strong incentive." Slobodan Milosevic and Vitaliy Churkin also discussed the problem of Brcko. "I received assurances from the Serb side that they are not carrying out offensive operations there," Churkin said. He added: "I also received support for the idea to end hostilities. I concluded after the talks today that the Bosnian Serbs would not oppose the deployment of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] along the demarcation lines in the Brcko region."

Asked to comment on the recommendation by the Duma to the Russian Government to lift sanctions against the FRY, Churkin said that he has not had the chance to see the full text of the decision. "Let me remind you that the recommendation was passed following the decision by the U.S. Senate [on lifting the arms embargo]. I hope that our two legislative bodies will not oppose each other, as our governments are not opposing each other. On the contrary, I hope they will work on a joint position."

At the end Churkin was asked if he was going to Pale from Belgrade. He gave a brief answer: "No, I am returning to Moscow today."

Kosovo

Rugova on 'Threat' of FRY Army Exercises

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[Report by Shefqet Rexhepi on news conference given by Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova, in Prishtina on 13 May: "Kosova at the Geneva Ministerial Meeting"]

[Text] Serbian repression, concentrated particularly on the outskirts of Kosova towns, continued last week, with house-searches on the pretext of looking for weapons, accompanied by cases of maltreatment and arrests in the communes of Malisheve, Istog, Gllogovc, Mitrovice, Gjilan, Ferizaj, Kline, Kamenice, Prishtina, etc. Repression against Albanian schools also continued, as in the case of Istog, besides repression against the Albanian Teachers' Alliance, the Gjakove Finance Council, and Kosovar sport. The gunshots at Kodra e Diellit in Prishtina, i.e. within the city, were a serious and very significant incident. There were also forced evictions from apartments.

Last week was also characterized by movements of the Serbian army through Kosova, on the pretext of exercises. In fact this was a threat to the population of Kosova. The commander of the Third Army in Nis himself admitted the nature of this threat, saying that these exercises are being conducted with the aim of preventing an uprising of the Albanian populace or to maintain peace in Kosova, despite the well-known fact that the Albanians have declared themselves in favor of a peaceful solution to the problem of Kosova. These threats are a bad omen, and we therefore draw the international community's attention to the consequences they may entail. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic of Kosova, began yesterday's news conference in Prishtina with these comments.

Sali Berisha's Important Visit to Romania

Kosova continues to be at the center of attention of international institutions and different world figures. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova welcomed the recent CSCE statement on Kosova and the debate in the U.S. Congress and in the Foreign Affairs Committee chaired by Hamilton, which had devoted particular attention to Kosova. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova went on to welcome the very important visit of Sali Berisha, president of the Republic of Albania, to Romania, also appreciating his commitment to solving the question of Kosova. After expressing the hope that the question of Kosova will be placed on the agenda of the ministerial meeting to be held in Geneva, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova again demanded that Kosova be placed under the supervision of the international community.

President Rugova went on to reply to journalists' questions. Asked about the Serbian rulers' threats to ban the activities of the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] Dr. Ibrahim Rugova stressed that there had been demands to ban the LDK ever since it started, and there were also such demands last year. In the context of the question of banning this party, the so-called prefect of Kosova Simovic also mentioned Hogg. The British Embassy in Belgrade has meanwhile issued a denial that the question of registering the LDK had been discussed during his visit to Prishtina. Threats to ban the activities of the largest political party in Kosova are a highly dangerous step. This shows a tendency to destroy political life in Kosova.

A ban of the LDK would be the most serious kind of provocation of the Albanians. This would not be a wise step for the Serbian regime, and this party will continue its work. A Serbian journalist asked whether the party would be registered. There is no question of registration, President Rugova said. We were registered under the former Yugoslav federation, of which we were a part when the Kosova authorities were suspended. This is merely a game and a pretext to ban this party. The Serbian regime should therefore think carefully about this as it is a dangerous step.

We Must Be Careful

Asked what he thought about the talks conducted by foreign delegations with people who have no legitimacy, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova stressed that all the delegations that come from abroad talk to the relevant personalities and institutions in Kosova, to me, to the LDK and other parties, and to various people in order to learn their views. This is normal. There have been no attempts to identify some other party in order to achieve something different. It is in the meantime well known who possesses legitimacy in Kosova. On the basis of the elections, we possess our authorities and institutions. The next questioner said that criticisms are being raised against peaceful resistance. There are demands for a more active resistance, and even the organization of demonstrations. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that we receive these criticisms in the spirit of the differences of opinion displayed in relation to our movement. Our movement has been called passive, but it is not passive; on the contrary, it is active. This is shown by our political and institutional organization and the organization of our life. The patience we have shown when faced with the violence and murders that take place in Kosova is also active resistance, and is appreciated by the world. Not out of fear, but because of the situation in which we find ourselves, it must be stressed that even peaceful demonstrations are dangerous, and we must therefore be careful.

As for the question of whether the question of Kosova will be raised at the ministerial meeting in Geneva, President Rugova stressed that the request has been made for Kosova to be treated at this meeting, because there can be no comprehensive solution for the former Yugoslavia without a solution for the problem of Kosova. Despite the tragic problem of Bosnia, we hope that Kosova too will be on the agenda at this meeting, he stressed. Asked whether any confusion persists regarding the visit of British Minister of State Douglas Hogg to Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that there is no confusion for us. His visit and the statement he made in Kosova were very important for us. These were the reasons why attempts were made to incriminate and cast aspersions on his visit. He was one of the highest-level figures to visit Kosova, which is very important for us, president Rugova emphasized.

It Is Known Who Performs Ethnic Cleansing

Asked about Milosevic's statement that it was the Albanians who first started ethnic cleansing, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that it is well known who started ethnic cleansing. I will go no further than to recall the period between the two world wars when Cubrilovic and Andric drew up plans for the emigration of the Albanians. They were deported to Turkey, and these programs were carried out after the war too. The case of Bosnia best shows who is carrying out purges. This is clear to the world. However, when the question of Kosova is raised before the international public, the Albanians are accused of something they have never done. Quiet ethnic cleansing is taking place in Kosova, in that Albanians are leaving because of the violence to which they are subjected. Serbia showed who is carrying out purges when warnings came of the repatriation of Albanians from some Western countries.

Commenting on this statement by Milosevic, Professor Dr. Fehmi Agani recalled the statement by Karadzic, who said that he had not bombarded the civilian population in Brcko. Sarajevo was surrounded and bombarded for two years, but the other side denied this. This is a manner of thinking that on the one hand ignores facts and on the other despises and shows contempt for the public, who are told to "listen to what I say."

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